

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Peace Education in Iraqi Kurdistan Schools

An Analysis of Human Rights and History Education Curriculum

Alsayid Mohammed, Maamoon Abdulsamad

Award date:
2015

Awarding institution:
Coventry University

[Link to publication](#)

General rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of this thesis for personal non-commercial research or study
- This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission from the copyright holder(s)
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

**Peace Education in Iraqi Kurdistan
Schools:
An Analysis of Human Rights and History
Education Curriculum**

By

Maamoon A. Alsayid Mohammed

Doctor of Philosophy

March 2015



**The work contained within this document has been submitted by the student in partial
fulfillment of the requirement of their course and award**

**Peace Education in Iraqi Kurdistan Schools:
An Analysis of Human Rights and History Education Curriculum.**

Maamoon A. Alsayid Mohammed

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of the University's requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

**Coventry University
Centre for Peace and Reconciliation Studies (CPRS)
Coventry, United Kingdom**

Abstract

Reforming the education system to reflect a new vision of society is part of many peacebuilding efforts in post-conflict societies. Accordingly, the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) is currently implementing a wide range of reforms in the education system in Iraqi Kurdistan. This research is a qualitative study of the KRG's efforts to implement a peace education curriculum. It uses critical discourse analysis to investigate the Human Rights Education (HRE) textbooks content for Grades 5 and 7 (ages 11 and 13) and the History Education (HE) textbooks content for Grades 5, 6, 7 and 8 (age 11 to 14). The study also focuses on the policy and strategies of the Ministry of Education (ME) in implementing these subjects; the teaching methods used; and how effectively the knowledge, values and skills involved have been disseminated.

The approach adopted by the ME to peace education is top down and experiences significant resistance from teachers and parents. Moreover, the curriculum reforms lacked consideration of the hidden and null curricula. The research highlights how HRE contents are primarily focused on cognitive development of awareness of rights and responsibilities rather than acquiring social skills and a critical approach, and that the content was not contextualised to the reality of Iraqi Kurdistan. Furthermore, the research found that the HE curriculum focuses on the history of Iraq, Kurdistan and Islamic history and presents a message that glorifies war; it is not open to different narratives or interpretations and does not foster critical debate or an enquiry-based approach. The curriculum contents included concepts and statements that appear to instigate violence and build divisions between Muslims and non-Muslims.

Despite the achievements of the ME in improving the education system there are many challenges such as weak infrastructure, lack of professional development and resistance through the wider cultural context. The methods of teaching are what Freire terms the 'banking system', authoritarian and not learner-centred, which largely reflects the social fabric of Kurdish society. The research identified many challenges facing teachers including the level of their commitment, skills, specialization and capacity-building. However, it also found positive support for HRE among students and teachers.

Dedication

To my Beloved wife, Shahla Abdulaziz

My Dearest sons, Tabarak and Ahmed

My Sweetest daughter, Veena

Acknowledgments

TO GOD BE THE GLORY, HONOUR AND PRAISE!

Through the past three years I have received support and encouragement from various people, friends, relatives and institutions.

First and foremost, this study would not have been possible without financial support from the Kurdistan Regional Government and their influential Human Capacity Development Program. For this, I owe them great thanks. My thanks also extend to the Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations for financing my fourth year tuition fees.

I am grateful to unwavering, endless support from both my Director of Studies supervisor Dr. Marwan Darweish and Dr. Alan Hunter for their encouragement, feedback, and friendship; and who should take credit for much more than they would like to acknowledge.

I also owe a great debt to all who took part in this study by participating in interviews, and accepting me to observe and share time in their classrooms and staffrooms.

I owe very special thanks to Jessica Aitken for excellent proofreading, comments and suggestions.

My warmest thanks go to all the staff working in the presidency of University of Dohuk.

My very special thanks go to all friends who have helped in one way or another, especially to Imad Mirza, Amjad Rasheed and Mohammed Ali.

My sincere thanks also go to Marry Donnall and Michael for accepting their friendship.

My thanks and appreciation goes to my family who supported me through their difficult time in the UK.

Thanks to all those others not named here who gave me strength and motivation throughout.

Map of Iraq and Iraqi Kurdistan (KRG)

This item has been removed due to 3rd party copyright. The unabridged version of the thesis can be viewed in the Lanchester Library Coventry University.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	iii
Dedication.....	iv
Acknowledgments	v
Map of Iraq and Iraqi Kurdistan (KRG)	vi
Table of Contents.....	vii
List of Figures.....	x
Acronyms	xi
Chapter One: Introduction.....	1
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 Why Peace Education is Important in Iraq and IK	2
1.2 Peace Values in IK Schools	4
1.3 What is the Problem?.....	5
1.4 Motivations for this Research	6
1.5 Aims, Objectives and Research Questions	7
1.6 Outline of the Thesis.....	8
Chapter Two Literature Review	9
2.0 Introduction	10
2.1 Peace Education Pedagogy	10
2.1.1 Formal.....	13
2.1.2 Informal	14
2.1.3 Global	15
2.2 Content of Peace Education.....	15
2.3 Values and Goals of Peace Education	19
2.4 Methods of Teaching Peace Education.....	23
2.5 Age Target in Peace Education.....	23
2.6 Pandora’s Box: Western aims and Islamic States’ Resistance.....	24
2.7 The Evaluation of Peace Education Programmes	30
2.8 Conclusion.....	31
Chapter Three: Methodology	33
3.0 Introduction	33
3.1 The Scope of the Study.....	34
3.2 The Research Area.....	35
3.3 Definitions	35
3.4 Analytical Objectives	38
3.5 Case Study	39
3.5.1 Qualitative and Quantitative Research Methods.....	40
3.5.2 Participants Selection.....	41
3.5.3 The Interview Process.....	42
3.5.4 Challenges	44
3.6 Data Analysis.....	50
3.6.1. The Benefits of CDA for this Study	51
3.6.2 Applying CDA.....	52
3.7 Table of Objectives.....	54
Chapter Four: Socio-political Situation in Iraq and Iraqi Kurdistan.....	57
4.0 Introduction	57
4.1 The Kurds: Who are They?.....	57
4.2 The Aftermath of Ottoman Empire till 1932	58
4.3 The Hashemite Royal Family Rule (1933 - 1958).....	61
4.4 The First Fully Independent Iraqi State (1958-1968)	62
4.5 The Republic of Iraq under Ba’ath Party Rule (1968 -1988).....	63
4.5.1 The Genocide (1988)	65
4.5.2 The Aftermath of the Iraq-Iran War (1998 -2003).....	66
4.5.3 The Emergence of Kurdistan Regional Government	66
4.6 The Aftermath of the Iraqi Regime Change (2003-2010).....	68

4.7 Obstacles to Peacebuilding in Iraqi Kurdistan	69
4.7.1 The recent situation in Iraq (2003-2013)	69
4.7.2 Contested Issues between the Baghdad Government and Erbil Government.	71
4.8 Conclusion.....	75
Chapter Five: Background to the Educational System in Iraqi Kurdistan	76
5.0 Introduction	76
5.1 The Iraqi Educational System from the Ottoman Empire to the Hashemite Rule (1920-1958)	77
5.2 The Iraqi Educational System prior to Saddam's Rule (1958-1979).....	80
5.3 The Iraqi Educational System during Saddam's Rule (1979-2003)	82
5.3.1 Kurdish Education during the Ba'ath regime (1979-1991).....	85
5.3.2 The Status of Education during the Ba'ath Regime (1979-1991).....	86
5.3.3 The IK Educational System during Kurdish Self-Rule (1991-2003)	87
5.4 Curriculum Change in Iraq and Iraqi Kurdistan after the Regime Change.....	89
5.5 The Development of KRG Education System (2003 to 2014)	91
5.6 The Current Status of the Educational System in Iraqi Kurdistan	93
5.7 Challenges facing Educational Development in Iraqi Kurdistan	95
5.8 Conclusion.....	98
Chapter Six: Ministry of Education Strategies for Implementation of Peace Education	101
6.0 Introduction	101
6.1 Seizing the Opportunity for a new Education System	102
6.2 The Aims of the Ministry of Education	103
6.2.1 Promoting Kurdish Nationalism	104
6.2.2 Preventing all forms of Discrimination.....	105
6.2.3 Banning all forms of Violence against Students	109
6.2.4 Openness and Transparency	110
6.3 The Process of making the HE and HRE Curricula.....	112
6.4 Facilities and Support from ME and NGOs.....	116
6.4.1 Providing Training.....	116
6.4.2 Monitoring Services.....	118
6.4.3 Supporting Materials	119
6.4.4 Evaluation and Follow Up	120
6.5 The Role of Teachers in the Curricula Making Process	122
6.6 The Role of Students and Parents in the Curricula Making Process.....	122
6.7 The Plans of the Ministry of Education	126
6.8 Conclusion.....	127
Chapter Seven: Analysis of Human Rights Education.....	129
7.0 Introduction	130
7.1 The Stabiliser and Conflict Resolution Views.....	131
7.1.1 The Stabiliser Viewpoint	131
7.1.2 The Conflict Resolution View	132
7.2 Applying CDA to the HRE curriculum.	134
7.3 Interpretation of the HRE curriculum	135
7.3.1 Rights and Responsibilities.....	136
7.3.2 Learning about Non-discrimination.....	143
7.3.3 Strengthening Social Cohesion.....	145
7.3.4 Child Labour.....	148
7.3.5 Respect for the Law	150
7.3.6 Respect for the Environment	152
7.3.7 Fostering Nonviolent Methods	153
7.3.8 HRE Exercises.....	154
7.4 Explanation: Stage Three of the CDA	157
7.5 Transformative Practices	159
7.5.1 Learning about Action	159
7.5.2 Learning how to Change Attitudes and Behaviour	161
7.6 Conclusion.....	164

Chapter Eight: History Education Contents Analysis.....	166
8.0 Introduction	166
8.1 Applying CDA to the HE curriculum	168
8.2 Interpretation of the HE curriculum.....	169
8.2.1 Highlighting Kurdish Nationalism.....	170
8.2.2 War Values	172
8.2.3 Peaceful Forms of Conflict Resolution	178
8.2.4 Peace Values (Teaching Peace)	179
8.2.5 Ways of Gaining Power	185
8.2.6 Gender Sensitivity	186
8.2.7 History Education Exercises	187
8.2.8 Religious Representation	188
8.3 Explanation	193
8.3.1 History Education and Dealing with the Other	194
8.3.2 One Approach.....	195
8.4 Conclusion.....	197
Chapter Nine: Analysis of Teaching Methods.....	200
9.0 Introduction	200
9.1 Applying CDA to the Texts relating to Teaching Practice	200
9.2 Interpretation of Findings	201
9.2.1 The ME's New Teaching Methods	201
9.2.2 The New System in Practice	204
9.2.3 Challenges facing HR educators	215
9.3 Explanation	223
9.4 Towards a Pedagogy of Change: A Student-Centred Approach.....	224
9.4.1 Teaching Learning Activities.....	225
9.4.2 The Dialogical Approach.....	226
9.4.3 Dialogue and Critical Thinking	228
9.5 The Role of Capable Teachers.....	229
9.6 Conclusion.....	230
Chapter Ten: Conclusion	233
10.0 Introduction	233
10.1 Contents of HRE and HE.....	237
10.3 Overcoming Current Challenges	242
10.4 Study Limitations and Future Research	245
10.5 My Contribution to the Educational Field	248
Bibliography.....	251
Appendix A: Timeline of the major incidents in the Iraqi and KRG area	291
Appendix B: Glossary	296
Appendix C: Definition of Concepts	300
Appendix D: Interviews Schedules	302
Appendix E: Preliminary Questions.	307
Appendix F: Analytical Themes	310

List of Figures

Table 1: Number of schools, students and teachers, 1990 and 2012 (ME Webpage)	91
Illustration 1: Cover of Fifth Year HRE textbook showing a lot of blonde kids	128
Illustration 2: Unrestricted gender relations	141
Illustration 3: The right to play	142
Illustration 4: Different places of worship	143
Illustration 5: Taking flowers to the sick	146
Illustration 6: Boys without education	150
Illustration 7: Disciplining boys	154
Illustration 8: Facial expressions	155

Acronyms

CHR	Committee of Human Rights
CDO	Civil Development Organization
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CDD	Curriculum Development Directorate
CPRS	Centre for Peace and Reconciliation Studies
HCDP	Human Capacity Development Program
HE	Education History
HRC	Human Rights Committee
HRE	Human Rights Education
IHR	International Human Rights
IK	Iraqi Kurdistan
INGO	International non-governmental organization
ISHR	Islamic Human Rights
KA	Kurdistan Alliance
KCP	Kurdistan Communist Party
KDP	Kurdistan Democratic Party
KNA	Kurdistan National Assembly, Iraq's Kurdistan Parliament
KSDP	Kurdistan Socialist Democratic Party
KRG	Kurdistan Regional Government (in Kurdish: <i>Hikûmetê Herêma Kurdistan</i>)
KSC	Kurdistan Save the Children
ME	Ministry of Education
MHESR	The Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research
MHR	Ministry of Human Rights
NGO	Non-governmental organization

NMFA	Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs
NPA	Norwegian People's Aid
PAO	Public Aid Organization
PDA	People Development Association
PE	Peace Education
PEP	Peace Education Program
PM	Prime Minister
PUK	Patriotic Union of Kurdistan
TOT	Training of Trainers
UDHR	The Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UIA	United Iraqi Alliances
UN	United Nations
UNAMI	The United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
UNSC	The United Nations Security Council
UNSCOM	The United Nations Special Commission
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II

Chapter One: Introduction

This item has been removed due to 3rd party copyright. The unabridged version of the thesis can be viewed in the Lanchester Library Coventry University.

Diogenes Laertius

1.0 Introduction

Good quality education enables children to think critically, solve their problems, enhance self-esteem, and cooperate with one another; all of which can help to create a culture of nonviolence in conflict-affected countries, such as Iraqi Kurdistan (IK). However, countries that have a long history of conflict, as does Iraq, have generally used the education system for political reasons, through the curricula and other educational material, as well as through the accessibility of education. For example, in Macedonia, the history curriculum was manipulated in ethnically segregated classrooms, with Slavs and Albanians each learning a history of victimization perpetrated by the other (Elizabeth and Barsalou 2006).

This research focuses on the Peace Education (PE) that has been introduced in foundation schools in Iraqi Kurdistan, which is located in the north of Iraq, bordering Iran to the east, Turkey to the north, Syria to the west, and the rest of Iraq to the south. It comprises three provinces, Dohuk, Sulaimaniyah and Erbil; with an estimated total population of four million and, since 1991, the region has enjoyed a certain amount of autonomy from the central government in Iraq. The sustainability of a peacefully coexisting society in this region is highly dependent on its people's awareness of their rights and responsibilities; and the enhancement of the skills and values of critical thinking, particularly those of the new generation. As Bush and Saltarelli (2000) argue, peacebuilding education provides the most valuable strategies for post-conflict societies as it demilitarizes the mind, problematizes the status quo, provides alternative approaches, and delegitimizes violence as a means of addressing problems by shifting the focus to tolerance and trust.

In relation to this, History Education (HE) textbooks are highly political, either by attempting to build peace or to prolong conflict. Studies demonstrate that the role of HE textbooks in peacebuilding involves remedying past relations between states and within states. Therefore, peace-orientated approaches to HE textbooks has become of legitimate interest to the international community. A peace educational approach to HE in Iraq and

IK is very important as it challenges basic views and beliefs concerning specific historical events, as well as people's perceptions, misunderstandings and mistrust of others; thus reducing negative stereotypes and prejudices toward others. As Ragland (2014:7) states, "the development of capacities that empower individuals to respect others is an important part of PE". The understanding of violence in terms of PE as "intentional avoidable harm" (Reardon 2001:35) offers ways of describing and identifying such harm, and so also of learning how to prevent it (Reardon 1988). The PE approach is used to learn lessons from the past; not to justify wrongdoings of the past as this may validate, legitimize and sustain current destructive policies and status quos.

Although Iraq and IK comprise different ethnic groups, the historical narrative of the dominant groups has become part of life and a cause of prolonged division and hatred between groups (e.g., Muslims and non-Muslims) and within groups (e.g., Shiia and Sunni). Doumato and Starrett (2007) demonstrate that states use their own brand of Islamic worldviews to justify and legitimize their regimes and their ideological underpinnings. In this respect, as stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), PE can serve to improve group relations by promoting understanding, tolerance, and friendship among all nations and racial or religious groups (UDHR, Article 26). By accepting the plural nature of worldviews, critical inquiry and reflection become necessary components of PE. Reardon (2011) proposes a critical perspective to avoid ideology in PE and argues that an ideal peace practitioner and/or educator is one who is constantly reflecting and questioning. Hence, through human rights discourses, whilst reasonable and free discussion may be not perfect, just and mutual understandings are possible. As discussed in the next section, introducing PE in IK is a complex process requiring the qualities of commitment, determination and learning how to envision possibilities identified to be an important part of PE (Reardon 1988).

1.1 Why Peace Education is Important in Iraq and IK

In recent years the nature of violence and conflict has changed. There are more *intrastate* conflicts than *interstate* conflicts and more awareness of invisible types of violence than ever before. Intrastate conflicts may be between specific groups and government and within groups themselves; the conflict between Shiia and Sunni, in the Middle East is a

salient example of an intrastate conflict.¹ Such conflicts have no borders and no specific targets as they are becoming global phenomena. It is very difficult to find the perpetrators as they can appear anywhere, such as suicide bombers in Iraq. Consequently, it is very difficult for governments to control them. It is unclear who fights who, why and what the root causes are. Simultaneously, PE has developed as a means to build critical thinking and awareness of human rights (HR).

Violence and learning violent ways has become a cultural way of life over generations and there are many indicators that Iraqi society favours pro-violence rather than pro-peacebuilding culture. There is much domestic violence; children are beaten and humiliated according to the cultural norms and traditions of the patriarchal society. It is a militarized society, which is expressed in having many *peshmergah*,² substantial spending on military warfare, privileging people in military positions, and extensive availability of well-paid employment in military sectors. The whole societal structure is based on a tribal system that relies on favouritism and nepotism. Furthermore, as Zizek (2008) argues, violence does not only refer to activities since passivity can also involve violence; for example, violence is presented in the media and passively consumed to the extent that it has become normalised.

Thus, many believe that PE must focus on building a culture of resistance against negative propaganda from government media and other powerful groups (Fisher et al. 2000). Hence, they argue that the global movement toward peace does not simply involve eradicating war but “cooperation and nonviolent social change, aimed at creating more equitable and just structures in a society” (Hicks 1988:6). Osler and Starkey (1996) argue that, without basic knowledge of HR principles, students and teachers are unlikely to work effectively towards social justice.

Societies have become more interconnected and the impact of violence and wars more widespread. It is also clear that it is not possible to resolve conflict only by official diplomatic means. However, education for peace is increasing and becoming one of the main tools of ‘second track diplomacy’ and may be our sole tool to tackle the ongoing crises of violence and abuse, and to enhance people’s peaceful values and skills for

¹ The main disagreement between Shiia and Sunni is based on historical discourses and incidents. Primarily, these relate to the succession to the Prophet Mohammed (who died in 623 CE) and to the nature of leadership in Muslim society. More specifically, Shiia believe that Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, was assassinated in a battle against forces of the Sunni Caliph. Also Ali’s elder son, Hassan, is believed by Shiia to have been poisoned by the Sunni Caliph Muawya. In relation to these issues, people believe what is said by their Imams (religious leaders) without thinking of the implications or veracity of this.

² Kurdish freedom fighters

managing the unknown future where conflicts might occur. The 2011 UNESCO report on PE demonstrates the profound link between quality of education and inclination towards violence. Thus, improving the quality of education is very likely to reduce violence and conflict. The contents of curricula, how they are taught and how the education is organized, has an impact on how prone to violence students might be. Hence, education policies ranging from the language of instruction to the centralization/decentralization of educational planning all impact on conflict prevention and prospects for lasting peace (UNESCO, 2011: 257)³.

Peace education has many varieties of program. Wilson-Brewer (1993) identifies as many as 18 different types of violence-prevention educational intervention programs, which can be categorized according to three related concepts: anti-violence, conflict resolution, and creating peace (cited in Clayton 2001:3). Bar-Tal (2001:29) argues that "peace education programs reflect particular special needs, goals and concerns of the society". Thus, PE approaches peace as a creative opportunity not as the absence of violence and war.

There is currently a trend toward establishing more PE worldwide. Harris (2004:15) states that approximately 10% of schools in the US now have peer mediation programs, and studies have reported that programs decrease aggressiveness, violence, and victimization.⁴ This reflects the PE's main aim of teaching society how to build a culture of peace, where everyone has their own constructive role. As Galtung (1980: 396) asserted, "there are tasks for everybody" in the search for peace.

1.2 Peace Values in IK Schools

IK is currently in the process of peacebuilding, which, as defined by John Paul Lederach (1977), is a process of transformation that addresses structural issues, social dynamics of relationship building, and development of a supportive infrastructure.

IK has a long history of wars, conflicts and educational indoctrination. The policies of previous Iraqi governments towards Kurds sought to build divisions and hatred among the different groups. However, Franzen (2012) emphasises the role of textbooks and curricula in shaping the identities and worldviews of students especially in the

³ This report investigated the link between education and violence on a worldwide basis.

⁴ For more information on other successful peace education programs, see Hanson (1994), UNICEF in Sri Lanka (1996), UNICEF in Croatia (1997) and the *Goodwill classroom project in the Republic of Yugoslavia* by N. Ignjatovic-Saric et al. (1996).

humanities and social sciences. Thus, these can work to harmonize the different groups and ethnicities in IK and change violent attitudes to peaceful ones. The role of Human Rights Education (HRE), in particular, is to promote a just and peaceful society through teaching about rights, privileges and obligations; and an awareness of the need for a functional democracy in Kurdistan and other nations. Many scholars assert the potential of HRE to tackle issues of racism, ethnocentrism and intolerance and this is reflected in efforts to reform the textbooks in IK (see Dimou 2009, Richer 2008, Tawil and Harley 2004). The importance of HE in teaching peace is raised in the UNESCO global monitoring report, which emphasises the need for teaching subjects such as history and religion in ways that "foster critical thinking, recognize the validity of different world views and encourage respect for other faiths and beliefs" (UNESCO 2011:242).

Thus, one of the solutions to building a peaceful society in IK is integrating PE into schools. In particular, those aspects that promote democracy, social justice, human development and peace are necessary in order to inculcate critical attitudes for civic responsibility in students. Moreover, peace-orientated critical awareness is essential to recognising structural violence in school. However, when interviewed teachers explained that they wanted to teach students to be good citizens and participate in government and society, in reality they were helping to produce "docile citizens".⁵ But if teachers promote passivity in classrooms, can they be surprised if citizens are passive? If core goals of schooling include enabling people to think, learn, care about life, and act responsibly as global citizens, then these goals need to be more explicitly evident in every aspect of school life.

1.3 What is the Problem?

The Kurds have been living under the authoritarian Iraqi regimes and denied their rights since the emergence of Iraq as an independent state in 1932. The education system has been decided in Baghdad and consequently IK has had little say in its own affairs, especially the education system. Throughout history, the education system of Iraq has been based on Arab nationalist ideology, denying the values of other ethnic minorities living in Iraq.

⁵ As described by Foucault in Discipline and Punish

The longest rule was that of the Ba'ath Party, based on pan-Arab nationalist ideology, which used education as a passive transmitter of values and ideas that confirmed its power and domination. Through this, Iraq education actively contributed to the process of social indoctrination and prohibiting students from thinking and acting independently. Moreover, it has been bereft of the concepts of human rights, change, ecological awareness, conflict, dynamics and anticipation. Instead it has focussed on wars, conflicts, colonization, and dehumanizing enemies which at the time included the West and any other countries that had disagreements with Iraq.

Teaching methods reflected this attitude being based on instilling fear, threatening students to study and controlling their behaviour through corporal punishment. This has created generations deprived of a sense of influence and participation, who prefer to take a defensive or offensive position, stunting creativity and innovation.

After defeating Saddam's regime in 2003, the process of creating an educational system based on new ideas and assumptions became a priority and the curricula have been reformed several times in both Iraq and IK. Inevitably, reforming the curriculum without bias has presented many challenges and there were various initiatives to do this in IK when the HRE reforms were first initiated.⁶ However, my observations found that the changes were limited to natural science and only made modest changes to the humanities. Thus, the problems continued and education in contemporary Iraq has become part of problem rather than the solution. Clearly, it is essential that education tackles sectarian issues rather than re-entrenching the problem as it is currently doing. As it is currently, the education curriculum tends more towards sectarian separation similar to that in Bosnia (see Pingel 2009). Thus, this study will analyse how contemporary HE and HRE foster peace in IK society.

1.4 Motivations for this Research

The introduction of HRE represents a turning point in the IK education system and can be considered the seeds for transforming society. However, it is clear that there is a long way to go before this comes to fruition. By clarifying the Ministry of Education (ME)'s specific aims in introducing PE into the school curricula and exposing the power relations concealed in the curricula and social practices involved, as well as the potential for

⁶ According to an interview with the KRG the reforms were funded by UNESCO and Qatar 07/01/ 2013

transformation, this study seeks to contribute to ending the self-perpetuating cycle of violence.

Analysing education textbooks in Muslim states has attracted increasing interest from international governments and Western academia in response to the events of 9/11 and the intensifying pressure of the religious fault-line in global politics (Abbas 2010). However, although several studies have been conducted on the status of education and curriculum development in the rest of Iraq,⁷ there is a scarcity of research following educational reforms in IK, which has had its own education system separate from Iraq since 1991.⁸ Consequently, this study is the first thorough analysis of the PE and HRE in IK.

Moreover, I am passionately committed to PE as a teacher, and writing about the education system in IK will enhance my teaching work in Dohuk University in IK, putting me in a position to be a catalyst of change and bringing HRE issues to the fore. It is crucial to understand how PE can be more effective, both for the sake of the Kurdish people and as a means to developing long-term solutions to the deep-seated interconnected problems throughout the Middle East. As Montessori (1972) states, "our hope for peace in the future lies not in the formal knowledge the adult can pass on the child, but in the normal development of the new man". Hopefully, this study will provide a basis for further work and practical change in the area; as well as comparison for related studies.

1.5 Aims, Objectives and Research Questions

Thus, the overall aim of this research is to identify how the school HE and HRE curricula contribute to peace education and awareness of human rights issues in IK, and the challenges it faces. More specifically, the study aimed to analyse the curriculum development, implementation and contents for HRE for the fifth and seventh years and for HE for the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth years, as well as the ME policy and strategy regarding the promotion of PE in schools, and how these are translated into the curriculum. By comparing the HRE curriculum with that of HE, the study also aims to identify how the contents of the latter contrasts with, and possibly undermines, the former's ostensibly

⁷ See Rohde (2013); Tikriti (2010); Kenneth (2006); Athena (2006); UNESCO (2005, 2004, 2003); Khaziran (2007); Bashkin (2006); De Santisteban and Augustin (2005); Roy (1993); Kasey (1983); Commisso (2004); Alwan (2004); and Jacqueline, Ismael and Raymond (2004).

⁸ One notable exception is the work of Kirmanji (2014) on the role of social studies textbook contents of IK schools in raising Kurdish nationalism within students.

attempts to inculcate peace-orientated values, in terms of teaching students to be catalysts of change.

To this end, the following objectives were set:

- To identify the implicit and explicit values and influences that underlie the ME policy, curriculum contents and current methods of teaching
- To assess how the contents of HRE and HE relate to peace-oriented methods
- To assess how much and in what way people from different ethnic and religious groups are involved throughout the curriculum process from policymaking to teaching and learning

These were then formulated as the following research questions:

- What are the implicit and explicit values that underlie the curriculum contents and current methods of teaching and peace-oriented methods?
- Are people from different ethnic and religious groups adequately involved in decision-making and training?
- How does the curriculum process as a whole relate to and interact with IK social practices?

These were explored using critical discourse analysis (CDA), as elaborated by Foucault (1992) and described in Chapter Three of this thesis.

1.6 Outline of the Thesis

Chapter Two provides a literature review and discusses contents, values, methods of teaching and the challenges faced in Peace Education Programs (PEPs). Following this, Chapter Three focuses on the methodology of the research, and the challenges faced. The socio-political context of Iraq and Iraqi Kurdistan is outlined in Chapter Four, which provides an explanation of how the long process of suppression has affected society throughout the history of Iraq. Thus, creating change in the education system extremely difficult. The background of education system in Iraq and Kurdistan is explained in Chapter Five, focussing on how education is manipulated to benefit dominant groups.

Chapter Six presents the ME policies relating to the HRE and HE curricula through the understanding that policy is about the exercise of political power and the language used to legitimate that process (Olssen et al. 2004:77).

The following three chapters, (Chapters 7-9) provide data analyses of the research based on Fairclough's (1989) understanding of the relationship between text, interactions and context. Using CDA, they explore the discourses presented and how these relate to the social structure of society (Fairclough 1992). Specifically, they consider how what Gee (2004) describes as primary discourses relate to the contents of PE.

Chapter Seven and Eight analyse the contents of the HRE and HE curricula, respectively, and Chapter Nine builds on this to explain the teaching methods and consumption of PE in IK. Finally, Chapter Ten discusses the main findings of the research, provides some suggestions for future studies and indicates the research's contribution to PE knowledge in the area.

Chapter Two Literature Review

Daisaku Ikeda (in Galtung and Ikeda 1995:68)

2.0 Introduction

This chapter begins by defining peace education and describing its values and goals. The field is characterized by many different forms and definitions of PEPs, which are not considered as static but as having progressive and dynamic meanings, relating to the socio-political context. The chapter then elaborates on the various approaches, suggesting that an embrace of all approaches (formal, informal and global) is important to implementation in developing countries. Furthermore, it illustrates the variety of challenges that face PEPs and discusses issues relating to Western and Islamic ideologies. It concludes with an evaluation of the necessity and challenges of PEPs, and ways of implementing them.

2.1 Peace Education Pedagogy

'This item has been removed due to 3rd party (Vriens 1999)

Peace and education are both abstract concepts without absolute and concrete meanings, therefore, it is difficult to define them (Haavelsrud 2008). Galtung (1975) argues that there is a lack of well-defined PE theory and asserts the importance of, and urgent need for it. In spite of there being much literature about PE, consensus among scholars about definition and universal theoretical guidelines is lacking (Salomon and Nevo 1999; Salomon 2000; Salomon and Nevo 2002; Salomon and Kupermintz 2002; Harris 2002; Harris and Morrison 2003; Seitz 2004; Davies 2004; Buckland 2006). Reardon (1989:xix) states that "there are as yet no clear and precise limits to, nor standards for, what is to be included in PE." Some argue that the lack of universal agreement of the definition of peace has led some scholars to adopt a transformative approach to make the world more peaceful (Reardon 1997; Ardizzone 2002; Harris 2004).

This has led some scholars to ask for a stricter definition of PE, with emphasis on the distinctions among different disciplines, such as citizenship education, HRE and PE (Salomon and Nevo 2001; Salomon 2002; Porath 2003). Scholars agree that PE definitions depend very much upon how the concept of peace is defined (Cabezudo and Reardon 2002; Bar-Tal 2002a; Harris and Morrison 2003). Brock-Utne states that PE is a "social

process through which peace is achieved" (Brock-Utne 1985:73, 2000:133–134). A similar definition is given by Reardon (1982): "Peace education is learning intended to prepare the learners to contribute toward the achievement of peace" (Reardon 1982:38).⁹ In addition, the flexibility, interdisciplinary and multidimensionality of its contents and goals make it difficult to define. It draws knowledge from a wide range of fields such as psychology, history, sociology, ecology, political science and economics. Moreover, the contribution of researchers from different countries has brought many identities and experiences from a variety of conflicts and wars. Furthermore, PE has been referred to in many different programmes, including international education (Burns 2008); HRE (Reardon 1997); development and environmental education (Selby 2000); conflict resolution education (Johnson and Johnson 2005); problem-posing education (Freire 1970 and 1974); disarmament education (Hill 2001); global citizenship education (Davies 2008); futures education (Hicks 2008); and unity-based education (Danesh 2008).

PE seeks to provide a knowledge of values and social skills that will increase positive group interactions among vastly different cultures and countries (Guttek 2006). Moreover, the goals of PE are to address universal problems and to gain universal values of respect for life; freedom; justice; solidarity; tolerance; human rights; equality between women and men; and shared responsibility (UNESCO 1995). These are of utmost importance as people are now living in the era of globalisation and countries are interdependent which has increased people's interconnection and reliance upon one another. Therefore, it is essential to facilitate understanding and provide knowledge about other cultures in order to decrease tension and misunderstanding, and to strengthen cooperation and friendship.

Peace educators believe that fostering inner peace leads to outer peace. First, individuals have to be peaceful in their minds, behaviours, attitudes and actions. Only then can those individuals disseminate this peaceful mindset to other people in the community. This applies all to educators, but especially to PE teachers. If they do not believe in peace, and if they have no inner peace, it will be difficult for them to convey the PE objectives. In this regard Staub (2002) and Page (2004) also assert that outer peace starts with inner peace and view everything happening on a common, political level as tightly interrelated

⁹ See also Galtung (1983); Hicks (1988); Haavelsrud (1993); Thelin (1993); Brock-Utne (1994); Reardon (1999); Harris and Morrison (2003); and Galtung (2008).

with the role and perceptions of the individual. Similarly, Harris (2002) states that PE is a deeply personal issue.

PE is also action-oriented; learners will gain knowledge, skills, commitments, a better vision of life, and how to apply it to the community. Galtung (1983:286) states that because "war is so active, so full of heroism and achievement, peace is so quiescent, even dull – sheep grazing next to a lion ... peace can only be attractive by linking education to action". This attitude is supported by UNESCO (1981) as "international by nature, global in perspective and action-oriented in its aspirations".

Some scholars emphasise that it would be better to implement PE soon after a war ends, and to start with short-term programmes that lead to long term programmes building on each success (Danesh 2006; Bar-Tal and Yigal 2009).

PE is expanding its pedagogical discipline and becoming recognised and officially incorporated into the national education curricula in many countries. It would be advantageous for PE to be adopted everywhere: in peaceful countries, post-conflict countries and protracted-conflict countries. Teaching of PE in countries not at war can focus on the cause of domestic and civil violence, and also develop an interest in global issues, the problems of poverty, environmental sustainability and the power of nonviolence (Harris 2008). Galtung introduced the integrative approach and a long term schools programme as a pilot project in some schools in southern Norway. This PEP is called *Sabona*¹⁰ and involves using a preventive approach to PE called *conflict hygiene*.¹¹ The programme has been successful and had been introduced to other places such as Austria.

To conclude, PE is a complete package, embracing all types of peaceful means to end violence and providing lifetime skills in resolving conflicts and improving human life by promoting freedom from oppression, inequality and dictatorships. PE fosters values that support peace and disseminates knowledge to help people understand each other better, live in harmony and coexist worldwide. For peace to become a reality, it is essential for PEPs to disseminate knowledge, skills and values to counteract the many sources promoting warlike behaviour, including news and entertainment media.

¹⁰ In the Zulu language 'Sabona' means 'I see you, I take you in'.

¹¹ The conflict hygiene concept was used by Galtung as an analogy to health studies. Galtung used the term because of its importance as a remedy to cure social illnesses, such as inequality, violence, and injustice. Galtung adopted this approach believing that there is more work done on the diagnosis and prognosis than on therapy (Galtung 1996). So Galtung suggested paying more attention to preventative therapy and *conflict hygiene* to enable the society-organism to handle all patho/bellogens at early stages (Galtung 2007:15)

The following sections present three models of teaching PE.

2.1.1 Formal

There are three main approaches in the formal education system which may be implemented by governments or by non-governmental organisation (NGO) and are also termed integrative approaches (Carson and Lange 2004:3). These are: as a separate subject in the curriculum¹²; as a subject spread across the curriculum¹³; or as a whole school approach.¹⁴ Embracing all three approaches is preferred over championing one specific approach (Bretherton 2003:15).

When supported by government education policies, PE gains legitimacy and becomes more authoritative, thus, counteracting claims of bias and indoctrination (Bar-Tal 2002b; Bretherton et al. 2005; Davies 2005). Conversely, care must be taken to avoid governments using PEPs as instruments of indoctrination (Davies 2005). Bar-Tal (2002a:27) asserts that "schools are often the only institutions society can formally, intentionally and extensively be used to achieve this mission". Furthermore, schools enable long-term programmes, which are more effective (Hicks 1988). The supporters of this approach realise the important role of the government. As Bar-Tal (2002a:27) states, "A Ministry of Education can set the objectives for PE, develop the curriculum, draw the contents for textbooks and other educational material, set guidelines for organising the political climate in schools, add extracurricular activities, train teachers, instruct schools to show initiative, and oblige students to participate in the learning." However a drawback is that governments are not often willing to integrate PE into the national curricula.

As PE highlights the taken for granted meanings and values that underscore the textbooks, which consequently serve to establish and maintain relations of domination, suppression, discrimination, and prejudice, it enables an understanding of the ways that symbolic forms interconnect with relations of power. Thus, PE considers education and power to be terms of an indissoluble couplet (Apple and Smith 1991). Consequently, education has played an important role in resolving ethnic conflict in many post-war countries, such as Germany and France. It is also often controversial, such as the treatment of World War II (WWII) in Japanese textbooks that caused concern in China and Korea

¹² For examples, see Galtung (1996); Bar-Tal (2000); Harris (2000, 2004).

¹³ For examples, see Reardon (1988); Haavelsrud (1993); Brock-Utne (1995); Calleja (1995); Firer (2002) and Danesh (2006).

¹⁴ Some schools, such as those of Montessori and Waldorf as well as other progressive, holistic or social justice approaches, teach nonviolent and caring behaviours as core goals (Eisler and Miller 2004:11).

(Höpken 2003). Education has been used negatively to prolong conflicts, such as in Sri Lanka and Guatemala (Lopes Cardozo 2008; Bush and Saltarelli 2000), whilst HE is understood to have contributed to genocide in Rwanda (Obura 2003). Israeli textbooks have been shown to contain discrimination against Arabs and Palestinians, while Jordanian, Egyptian and Syrian textbooks maps failed to represent Israel as a state (Surkes 1997:4). Similarly, HE textbooks of Russia have been distorted and used as propaganda for political purposes and anti-Jewish sentiments (Lisovskaya and Karpov 1999; Pirani 1999). Conversely, when societies become aware of the importance of education in building peace it can be very constructive; German and Poland took steps in improving relations by writing a joint history (Höpken 2003); Palestinian and Israeli textbooks have undergone years of revision to facilitate mutual understanding (Keynan 2014); and Turkish Cypriot education has improved relations (İnanç and Kızılyürek 2009).

2.1.2 Informal

This is implemented through learning activities, adult education offered by public, private or religious institutions, and workshop training organised by NGOs; it also termed additive. Peace educators in Afghanistan, for example, published storybooks for children, designed posters and distributed T-shirts with peace messages (Fisher et al. 2000:146). This approach tends to involve less restrictions imposed by governments and so take less time to implement (Burns and Apeslagh 1996; Ardizzone 2001). Workshops are the usual approach, although they do not often produce effective results. McCauley (2002:247) states "such workshops aim to change hearts and minds of participants, but typically offer very little support for behavioural change". Changes in behaviour require more contact time (Kadushin and Livert 2002; Tal-Or et al. 2002).

2.1.3 Global

This model is offered by international bodies such as the UN Declaration and Program of Action on a Culture of Peace, which aims to unite all the movements and initiatives to establish a culture of peace. According to UNESCO, more than 75 million individuals and thousands of local, national and international organisations representing more than 160 countries are already part of it”.¹⁵ Supporters of this approach assert that nongovernmental PEPs are more flexible with fewer restrictions from governments (Ardizzone 2001; Burns and Aspeslagh 1996).

Based on the above argument, and because many youths do not attend school, a combination of the three models, integrative (formal), additive (informal) and global would be most suitable for the majority of developing countries (Bush and Saltarelli 2000; Simpson 2004).

2.2 Content of Peace Education

This item has been removed due to 3rd party copyright. The unabridged version (*Firer 2002:56*).

Much literature exists about the content of PE since it has a holistic view of peace, teaching from various perspectives and, therefore, content differs among scholars who may aim to develop universal content to fit all PEPs or local content to fit the context where PE is being implemented. Examples of these different perspectives are: value education (Guttek 2006; Swee-Hin and Cawagas 1991); cultural understanding (Boulding 2000; Groff and Smoker 1996); human rights (Reardon 1995; Muntarbhorn 1998; Harris 1999); anti-racism education (Sefa-Dei 1997); indigenous views (Bull 2000); nonviolence (Adams 1989; Sharp 1973); and education for the future (Carson and Smith 1998; Hicks 1994). Thus, scholars have been flexible in choosing the content that they find necessary to suit the context, some noting that content should be relevant and driven by students’ interest, because this will motivate and encourage active participation.¹⁶ However, others criticise this flexibility and urge for universal guidelines.¹⁷

¹⁵ For more information, see International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Nonviolence for the Children of the World (2001-2010) Available online on the UNESCO website, <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/brasilia/about-this-office/prizes-and-celebrations/international-decade-for-a-culture-of-peace-and-non-violence-for-the-children-of-the-world/> . [Accessed 26/09/2014]

¹⁶ For example, Freire (1970), Cabezudo and Reardon (2002), and Harris and Morrison (2003)

¹⁷ For example, Salomon and Nevo (1999); Salomon (2000); Salomon and Nevo (2002); Seitz et al. (2004); Davies (2004); and Simpson (2004).

Reardon (1988) and Brock-Utne (1989) divide PE content into negative peace content and positive peace content. The former includes knowledge about root causes of war and its destructive power,¹⁸ peace movements, and peace activists such as Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King. Positive peace content includes themes about environmental education and development education. Related programmes target positive peaceful situations.

Other scholars divide PE content into education *about* peace and education *for* peace.¹⁹ Reardon (1989) is in favour of teaching both these approaches in every area.²⁰ In contrast, Salomon (2002) prefers the positive peace approach and teaching only *about* peace. Collinge (1995) introduced the concepts of implicit and explicit PE. The first concerns the nurturing and acquisition of peaceful values and behaviour in a school environment oriented towards cooperation and dialogue, while the latter provides direct information about war and peace.

Haavelsrud (2008) states that PE content has been constructed according to either the micro- or macro-level, that is, in terms of international and global problems (macro), or in relation to everyday life and the individual (micro). Haavelsrud (1983) also introduces four approaches to peace studies that have been extended to PE and offers a categorisation of peace programmes: The *idealistic* approach focuses on universal problems and solutions, and is often the method preferred by large international non-governmental organisations (INGOs). The *intellectual* approach focuses on the academic study of peace and conflict, usually providing a profound foundation for understanding rather than direct action. In the *ideological* approach, the school is seen as a reproducer of structural violence and social control, therefore, it is not the place to promote peace and PE should be offered outside the school instead. Lastly, the *polarisation* approach links research, education and action together and sees them all as important parts in a process of social change.

Other scholars divide PE content into themes. For example, Burns and Aspeslagh (1996) describe five domains: (1) the international system of education; (2) peace education; (3) development education; (4) human rights education; and (5) environmental education. Kester (2010) suggests a wide range of themes, including knowledge of peace

¹⁸ In relation to this, some scholars such as Danesh (2006) recommend avoiding teaching students in post-conflict societies about war destruction and its impact in the first weeks of the program as students already know about it.

¹⁹ The concepts of education for peace and those about peace are defined separately.

²⁰ This is elaborated below in the section on dividing peace education according to socio-political context.

movements; '*negative*' and '*positive*' peace; peace as an active process; human rights and responsibilities; worldviews and ideologies; nonviolent communication; and dialogue. It may be argued that scholarly interest in PEPs is influenced by the context in which scholars live and conduct research, and where programmes are implemented. One can, for example, differentiate a scholar's research by its content. The Israeli scholars, Bar-Tal (2002b), Salomon and Nevo (2001:65) are interested in PE for "real ethnic, racial or national adversary" and studying peace from the enemy's perspective. Whereas some Western scholars focus on teaching inner peace, environment protection, anti-militarism and women's rights (Staub 2002; Page 2008; Reardon 1988). Meanwhile, scholars from the southern hemisphere are interested in educating through awareness and consciousness of structural violence (Freire 1970).

Harris (1999) introduced the concept of indirect and direct PE content. The former does not directly contradict the culture of conflict, instead it concerns very general themes of peace and peacemaking; while the latter focuses on themes like tolerance, human rights, reflective thinking and empathy.

These different perspectives highlight the fact that PE cannot be imposed globally. Ardizzone (2001:1) backed this argument by stating that a "quick-fix or one-size-fits-all approach, which fails to account for specific contexts will not work". In addition, with PE being multidisciplinary, students could not be expected to cover all the content proposed by all the different PE perspectives. Hence, the content of a PEP must be specific in its teaching materials and targeted specifically according to age and socio-political differences.

Thus, Ardizzone (2001:16) states, "the content, methodology and objectives of PE are progressive, dynamic, transformative and holistic." Bar-Tal (2002a:29) expressed a similar opinion: "The nature of peace education is dictated by the issues that preoccupy a specific society, because it has to be perceived as being relevant and functional to the societal needs, goals and concerns. This is an important requirement for the initiation and realisation of peace in any society."

Four themes are identified by Danesh (2006) as prerequisites for effective PE: (1) unity-based worldview; (2) culture of healing; (3) culture of peace and (4) peace-oriented curriculum. Whereas, Salomon (2002:7) categorises the content of PE into three groups: areas of intractable conflict; inter-ethnic tensions and experienced tranquillity. Content for intractable conflict places is intended to provide knowledge about "anti-racism; conflict resolution, multiculturalism, cross-cultural knowledge and cultivating a general peaceful

outlook". In areas of inter-ethnic tension there is a need to educate people about anti-racism and multiculturalism accompanied by opportunities for greater contact between antagonistic ethnic groups, with activities in which both share a goal and are required to cooperate with each other (Salomon 2002). In areas experiencing tranquillity, "education about peace can play a crucial role in cultivating a bystander's concern for peace such that past indifference for violent acts carried out in other regions of the world does not repeat itself" (Salomon 2002:6).

It is understandable that PE content includes knowledge about our past history of war and violence. As Reardon (1997) stated, the conceptual core of PE is to educate people about different forms of violence and their impacts, and about the way violence can be controlled, reduced and eliminated. People will then be equipped with knowledge about the ongoing struggle and what can be done to prevent all-out war (Reardon 1988). Boulding (cited in Weigert 1989:43) writes, "the future is the metaphor of our grand act of imagination; it does not exist until and unless we call it into awareness through our images and vision"²¹; thus, he reasons that it is important to teach students to imagine a future that is not an extension of the past.

Galtung (1996) theorises achieving peace through diagnosis, prognosis and therapy; the same might be applied to PE. The foci of this model are: learning about war as the main obstacle to peace; understanding nonviolence as the principal way to providing a culture of peace; and the role international law has in establishing global justice. The Flower-Petal model (Toh 2004) is another non-locally specific approach that can be practiced in many societies. It contains six elements for forming a culture of peace: (1) dismantling the culture of war, that is, e.g., by cutting defence spending; (2) environmental peace, teaching people how to help sustain the environment; (3) education for justice and compassion, analysing the global justice process; (4) human rights education, making students aware of cultural and economic human rights and educating them about violation and its prevention; (5) cultivating intercultural solidarity, educating students about different groups or institutions that foster violence or peace; and (6) harnessing inner peace, educating students about assessing their own physical and emotional states, and how these can be transformed.

²¹ For more information about the importance of having content about the future see Åke Bjerstedt, (1986) *Lära för framtid*. (Learning for the Future) Stockholm: Liber Utbildningsförlaget.

Yablon (2010) introduces an approach to PE based on religion and spiritual values. Scholars have backed this approach on the grounds that it is more effective in reaching individuals and leaders than programmes based on social or political agendas. Whilst Firer (2008) asserts the importance of establishing virtual PE programmes, especially for post-conflict societies.

Taking all the different PE contents into account when summing up, a pertinent question to ask is, what knowledge do students need to resolve conflicts constructively? Due to PE content being principally based on the socio-political context, peace educators need to address a number of questions with those responsible for the implementation of the PEP, before introducing any programme into the country. Appropriate questions would be: On what basis is PE being conducted? What local factors should be taken into consideration? What is hindering peace in the area? What can foster a culture of peace in this society? Is their school curricula and classroom teaching atmosphere peace-like or war-like? And, what might peace educators face in trying to educate students about peace? In other words, there is no pre-packaged PE content that can be implemented globally in all contexts. Salomon (2002) stated that PE programmes take different forms because the conflicts that are happening in the world take different forms, and each conflict requires a different PE strategy to address it.

2.3 Values and Goals of Peace Education

Peace education programmes have different goals, values, and objectives (Bjerstedt 1990; Salomon and Nevo 2002; Wintersteiner, Spajic-Vrkas and Teutsch (eds.) 2003). Bar-Tal (2002a:28) states that, "the nature of peace education goals and objectives are dictated by the issues that preoccupy a specific society". Scholars such as Galtung (1996); Ardizzone (2002); Porath (2003); and Page (2004) have advocated that PE is an education for value change; its aims concern everyone in society, and make everyone in society responsible for doing something to achieve peace in the society as a whole. Kester (2008, 2010) argues that the aim of PE is to enhance universal values and behaviour (teaching students about the international human rights); developing nonviolent conflict-resolution skills; and commitment to cooperation with one another to realise a better future. The goal of PE is a complete process for the betterment of life of everyone in society; as Johnson and Johnson (2005:276) state, 'the ultimate goal of peace education is for individuals to be able to maintain peace among aspects of themselves (intrapersonal peace), individuals

(interpersonal peace), groups (intergroup peace), countries, societies and cultures (international peace).’ Moreover, PE treats each society individually; each programme aims to resolve specific problems in a specific culture, which is why Vriens (1990:13) asserts that ‘concepts of PE are not isolated systems of ideas, but each concept can be an answer to the political cultural problems as perceived by people.’

PE differs from other types of education as it takes an explicit and implicit place in values. PE in schools should be free from methods that lead to the strengthening of structural violence and that restrict human potential in ways such as one-way communication, hierarchical relationships, inequality, exclusion, alienation, indoctrination and manipulation by means of rewards, punishments and exams (Galtung 1975). Instead, PE should be focused on ‘personal growth and development’ (Hicks 1988:248). PE aims to ‘specify what is good/right and bad/wrong, and how and why’ (Galtung 1996:11). Galtung further asserts that value *holding* differs from value *knowing*. He points out that it is not possible to *know* a value absolutely without *holding* it in the sense of having internalised the value (Galtung 1996). Peace education moves from value knowing to value holding. It teaches the values of respect and cultural diversity (Hicks 1988; Reardon 1988; Harris 2002; Kester 2010).

Although PE focusses on the development of positive peace values, this does not mean the inherent mix of positive and negative societal values are dismissed. It would be an impossible goal for a PEP to try and eradicate all negative values held by people in the society. However, PE aims to encourage within the student values that enhance human dignity and that enable them to develop capacities to help them choose the best values to foster peace among all the communities in their society.

Hence, PE does not force students to change their values; instead, as Habibi (2005) asserts, PE emphasises the transformation of conflict-oriented worldviews into peace-oriented worldviews. He writes that most people are only partially conscious of their own and others’ worldviews and are ignorant of the importance of worldviews in both escalating and mitigating violence.

Talking, reading and thinking about a subject influences our acts in relation to it. Worldviews are shaped and influenced by our exposure to school textbooks; traditional sayings; proverbs; everyday practices; behaviour; and values held by the majority in society. It is, therefore, important to analyse everyday practices, traditional cultural discourses, and schools discourses in relation to peace knowledge, values and skills. This is especially important for post-conflict societies as the lives of people are changed and

their pro-war and violence values need to be replaced by positive peace values. As students and children are the future of the society, they must be catalysts of change and not reproduce and preserve cultural discourses based on inequality and static traditional norms. CDA is of vital importance in analysing discourses (text, speech) in relation to social practices (Fairclough 1998, 2001). Lukes (1974:23) argued that power over others can also be exercised by preventing them from identifying or recognizing their own interests. In other words, power can be exercised over others by cultivating what Marx and Engels (1967) referred to as "*false consciousness*", or by exercising what Gramsci (1971) referred to "*cultural hegemony*". Many scholars, including Gramsci (1971) and Foucault (1980), explain that discourse and ideology are shaped to preserve the status quo in society. These scholars provide a variety of explanations about the ways that ideology and discourse function in order to convince people that systems of social inequality are acceptable and immune from social transformation. In explaining why people agree to unequal relations of social power, they also elaborate on the possibilities of resistance to ideological power and social change, providing alternative discourses to challenge and resist the injustices and inequality. In Iraqi Kurdistan, HRE comes as an intervention to rescue and develop an education system based on traditional discourses.

Worldviews can be transmitted through the population and become accepted societal worldviews. This can be achieved through storytelling (e.g. Bar-Tal 2000; Senehi 2000) or through '*collective narratives and beliefs*' (e.g. Rouhana and Bar-Tal 1998; Salomon 2003) and are difficult to change once accepted. However, the value of the PE approach has never been thoroughly tested, and its effectiveness in avoiding, preventing and reducing political violence is yet to be fully evaluated (Sommers 2001).

Peace education aims to provide people with skills and knowledge either to transform the violent structure of society into a peaceful one or to sustain the status quo of a peaceful culture. It teaches students to cooperate and become agencies through organising workshops and awakening people to their rights. McNay (2000) states that agencies have the 'ability to act in an unexpected fashion, or to found new and unanticipated modes of behavior'. Scholars have also agreed that power is a dynamic process with Bill Moyers asserting that 'people are powerful; power ultimately resides with populace' (Moyers, cited in Weigert 1989:43).

Peace education gives its students hope. As Collinge (1995) stated, "hope is the most essential element of PE". Through this, PE can provide an imaginative, foreseeable future that students can commit to and strengthens belief in their capabilities to change the

structure of their society. Thus, PE can provide conditions for resistance as well as transformation. As Brocke-Utne (1998) states, “peace education provides critical and analytical minds”.

Harris (2002:20) identifies ten goals for effective PE: to appreciate the richness of the concept of peace; to address fears; to provide information about security systems; to understand violent behaviour; to develop intercultural understanding; to provide for a future orientation; to teach peace as a process; to promote a concept of peace accompanied by social justice; to stimulate a respect for life; and to end violence. Furthermore, PE enhances the value of ecological concern (Carson and Lange 1997; Selby 2000).

Salomon (2002:4) summarises current PE activities under four categories: (1) peace education ‘mainly as a matter of changing mindset’; (2) cultivating a set of skills; (3) promoting human rights (particularly in developing countries); and (4) as a ‘matter of environmentalism, disarmament, and the promotion of a culture of peace’. Montessori, among other scholars, worked to enhance peace on three inter-related levels: (1) the individual level, relating to person-centred awareness of the self (e.g., body, mind, emotions and spirit); (2) the community level, focused on interpersonal relations (e.g., trust, openness and interdependence); and (3) the global level, concerning cultural and environmental consciousness (Montessori 1949). Bourdieu (1977:72) uses the term ‘*habitus*’ to describe and analyse the orientation which guides our behaviour; thus social structures are informed by habitus. He discussed social interaction as invertible and being subject to improvisation and change over time. The habitus of an individual can be transmitted to social classes, through interaction in the context of social groups, which can eventually change and inform the habitus of the entire community. Another concept used by Bourdieu is ‘*capital*’; he defines it as, ‘the ability to exercise control over one’s own future and that of others’ (cited in Calhoun, Lipuma and Postone 1993:4); it enables change in the structure of social groups.

PE is often considered too idealistic because of the disparity between the reality of a situation and the aims and objectives of some PEPs (Toh and Floresca-Cowagas 1989). The international double standards that still exist make it even harder to achieve peace and to mobilise people to work for and believe in peace. An indication of the prevalence of conflict-oriented worldviews is when the population of a country that is being devastated by an oppressive regime relies on another country to act violently to stop the oppressive regime. Peace education endeavours to achieve a different approach. Gilligan and

Wiggins (1987:281) argue that PE assumes a basic moral injunction "not to treat others unfairly and not to turn away from someone in need".

In summary it can be seen that, as scholarly opinion differs regarding PE content it also varies regarding values and goals, and for exactly the same reasons: differing cultural and conflictual contexts.

2.4 Methods of Teaching Peace Education

There is an overall agreement among scholars about the importance of applying critical and reflective methods of delivering PE (Burns and Aspeslagh 1996; Bush and Saltarelli 2000; Firer 2002; Shapiro 2002; Balasooriya, Perera and Wijetunge 2004). Similarly, it is largely accepted that the methods of teaching and learning processes need to be student-centred, participatory and interactive (Freire 1970; Green 1997; Bretherton et al. 2003; Davies 2005; Haavelsrud 2008; Galtung 2008). Teaching tools include roleplaying; games and group activities; and storytelling. Bar-Tal (2002a) claims experiential learning is the key method for obtaining and internalising peace-related knowledge, attitudes, skills and behavioural tendencies, as do Cabezudo and Reardon (2002), Galtung (2008) and Bar-Tal and Yigal (2009). Significantly, in addition to the teaching tools, a teacher's peaceful way of teaching is more influential in transmitting values than a formal curriculum (Schell-Faucon 2000:5); as Peterson (2003:59) states, "the influence of the teacher can last almost a lifetime".

2.5 Age Target in Peace Education

Scholars differ in opinion about the ideal age that PE should target. Some scholars favour teaching children as early as possible, such as Montessori (1972), Stomfay-Stitz (1995) and Connolly et al (2006). Montessori argues that education can ensure the fullest development of children with education for peace as the cornerstone. Spodek and Brown (1993) argue that children in their early years are influenced by care-giving, nurturing and schooling, which affect the children's attitudes toward life, especially their relationships with others. Hicks (in Simpson 2004:2) argues that, at age six or seven, children often begin to define their own ideas of war. As empirical studies show, children learn the concept of war first, which can then be influenced and shaped by their environment; such

as exposure to daily media talk about violence and conflicts (Lin, Brantmeier and Bruhn 2008). Reardon (1988) also discusses this topic and regrets that children at this age are not allowed to look at sensitive images and ignored when considering controversial issues (in Simpson 2004:6). Gandhi shared the same opinion and stated that, ‘if we are to have real peace, we must begin with children’ (Gandhi cited in Nele 2008:143). Moreover, studies show that teaching peace skills to children, in order to resolve conflict, can help them to become more peaceful adults (Bernat 1993), whereas the opposite leads the young to become more aggressive and to succumb to adult violence (Olweus 1978, 1979).

Other scholars emphasise teaching youth, (Lowicki-Zucca, 2005), and argue that youths have greater risk factors and are therefore more prone to become involved in violent conflict. However, Chatwick, in Burns and Apeslagh (1996:263) emphasises the importance of teaching PE to adults, because the most violent actions are organised and conducted by adults. Harris and Morrison (2003:78) state that PE for adults is a little regarded issue in current literature, despite the fact that many PEPs are undertaken by adults. Research has demonstrated that college students experience value reorientation as a consequence of PE (Eckhardt 1984). Assessment and evaluation of conflict resolution and peer mediation has shown that students are able to learn peaceful skills and apply these skills outside school (Johnson, Johnson and Dudley 1992).

Nonetheless, the *Declaration and Integrated Framework of Education for Peace* (1995) suggests that education for peace must be included in all learning spaces (quoted in Kevin 2010:7); the outcomes may be more fruitful if PE is applied to all age groups because of children’s tendency to imitate adult behaviour.

2.6 Pandora’s Box: Western aims and Islamic States’ Resistance

PE has been criticised as being a discursive discourse addressed principally to secular societies. People are different, with different cultures, religions and languages. Consequently, the universality of rights might be challenged, especially in relation to state sovereignty and cultural relativism. However, globalization is rapidly increasing interconnections and interdependence; multiculturalism within countries is a fact. Thus, HRE might be the most suitable set of principles that the majority would agree to share with one another.

PE is also criticised as biased and imposing Western ideas on developing countries by being embedded within educational systems (Schell-Faucon, 2001; Ardizzone 2001; Seitz 2004). Hence, it can lack a sense of local ownership and, being cosmopolitan, it is criticised as transmitting Western values and institutions from developed countries to developing countries (Mac Ginty, 2008:145; Cooper, 2007: 606; Richmond, 2007: 204, 224; Chandler, 2004: 59; Iain 2005). This viewpoint may be due to the lack of literature about traditional methods of conflict resolution and PE. Moreover, the history of colonisation and imperialism by Western countries, has also led people to doubt the implicit goals of PEPs. However, following “9/11”, the US has put pressure on many Muslim majority Arab states to change their education systems on the grounds that they are teaching hatred and racism which promotes graduate recruitments to extremist organisations.

Thus, the *war of weapons* has become the *war of ideas* that Donald Rumsfeld referred to as existing in Islamic schools (Grundmann 2005). However, while PEPs are supported by America as a condition of support for education in Arab and Muslim states, they face severe resistance from Islamic majority states who interpret this as an attack on national security. This reflects the dilemma whereby the US sees itself as part of the remedy to end terrorism while the Muslim majority states perceive the US as a threat to Islam. In Muslim majority Arab states it is commonly perceived that the enemy of the West is Islam and that this is a root cause of the conflicts of interest. Some even see the humanitarian work of INGOs as a long war against Islam (Alnbhani 2002:181, Amara 2004). Others may perceive double standards in the US not forcing Israel to change its education curriculum. Bar-Tal's (1998:723) analysis of 124 ME Hebrew books of 1994 indicates that most of the Israeli education textbooks describe Arabs as enemy, killers (cited in Hamada 2007:802).

As stated above, challenges to PEPs differ in different socio-political cultural contexts. For example, in the Islamic world the majority of the population believe in fate and destiny as ultimate forces and that nothing should be done to change what Allah has decreed. This belief can make people acquiescent. This is a mentality that many leaders encourage for it prevents the people from interfering in their objectives. If the leaders then fail in their objectives, they claim it is destiny; the situation was beyond their control. However, PE can help people to imagine a better future, to release them from a traditionally held, passive outlook.

Rahman (1982:102) argues that good Muslim scholars are scarce because of inadequate educational systems and methods; as well as government censorship and patronage that inhibit critical scholarship. Teachers simply present statistical bodies of facts that are to be learnt strictly by memorisation, rather than encouraging creative learning that requires intellectual and imaginative effort (Rahman 1982:102). Rahman also asserts that teachers in Islamic countries are not educated to embrace modern knowledge or to develop critical, analytical minds; they maintain classical theological learning, and have consequently produced badly educated and ill-informed *imams*. Consequently, teachers, at present, may lack peace teaching skills; moreover, because of lack of resources, providing up-to-date teacher training is difficult.

Bjerstedt (1993:161–162) states that ‘peace education faces difficulties ... because it faces an established culture which is basically bellicose’. Hence, finding support for a PEP can be difficult, as many governments fear losing the benefits they may reap from conflict. This may explain scarcities of PEPs in Muslim majority Arab states. Bar-Tal and Rosen (2009) emphasise the importance of government support as a precondition for effective PE. While Surya (2008) links the difficulty of implementing PEPs to the high running costs and tuition fees. Thus, in some places, PEPs run by INGOs meet strong resistance as people suspect hidden, implicit aims that threatened their country as they distrust anything from abroad (Harris 1992).²² This reflects societal discourse of Islamic majority states that perceive PE as a way to introduce indoctrination (Hicks 1988:176; Ardizzone 2002; Harris and Morrison 2003:165)

The culture of patriarchy and tribal systems that dominates in the majority of Arab Muslim countries teaches that men and boys are superior to women and girls. These cultural beliefs favour violent methods of resolving conflict since peaceful methods, reconciliation and forgiveness are considered tools and symbols of weakness. Moreover, raising awareness through a PEP in Muslim countries might lead to further social conflict. Parlevliet (cited in Agarwal 2014:37) states:

"Human rights education does not work in communities fraught with conflict unless it is part of a comprehensive approach. ... In fact, such education can be counterproductive and lead to greater conflict if people become aware of rights

²² This is a common understanding in the Arab world, as they believe that anything bad or any new programmes are a plot by the West to destroy Islam.

which are not realised. In this respect, human rights education can increase the potential for conflict".

Firer (2002:55) argues that the main reason why PE is so difficult is "the continuous *war education* that youngsters and adults have been receiving since the beginning of mankind". This is especially true in countries that have experienced a long history of violence; their worldviews are shaped by conflict and thus, their mindsets would be difficult to transform in short term programmes.

It would be difficult for PE to achieve its aims if it were based on power. PEP in this case would further strengthen the inequality and injustices already in place. This argument supports Allport (1954) who stated that equal status during the contact phase among participants in peace discussions is a precondition for effective contact outcomes. For example, normalization of the situation in Israel will require the end of the oppression of and injustices towards Palestinians, on the one hand, and a cessation of violent tactics to force change by Palestinians on the other. Because of the large discrepancy between the Palestinians and Israelis in terms of equality, justice and prosperity, these changes are essential to make peace between Palestinian and Israeli possible and legitimate.

Thus, the social context in most Arab Islamic states makes it difficult to implement PEPs. In IK, like many other Arab Islamic states, people unquestioningly accept the norms of the society and obey those in power. People adapt to the situation, in contrast with PEP values whereby the situation should be adapted to fit people. People are not free thinkers and do not think about the reliability of knowledge they receive. All is accepted as facts. Al-Barakat and Al-Karaneh (2004:172) state that the textbooks used in Arab states do not nurture critical thinking and teaching is usually based on "reciting information", with teachers acting as "sources of information: they present, explain, clarify". This engenders a "passive role in learners" and ignores "the importance of their learning to be active and effective citizens". Valverde (2005:52) further, argues that "the education system of Arab countries is not preparing students to acquire the skills, disposition, the habits of mind associated with competitive economies". Most Muslim majority Arab states whether they have a secular or Islamic government tend to prioritise the integration of Islamic values into the national curriculum, while neglecting religious diversity (Leirvik 2004; Doumato and Starrett 2007).

In relation to this, Doumato and Starrett (2007:5) note that:

“[A]n original generic Islam that avoids recognition of sectarian differences and is designed to foster a sense of nationalism, promotes the legitimacy of the regime in power, or, in some places, provides a counterweight to an immoderate Islamism being disseminated through public discourse.”

Thus, Islamic values are not only presented in Islamic studies but also in other subjects such as Arabic Language, HE and National Education. However, for states to build democratic citizenship, awareness of cultural and social diversity is paramount. Education has to teach students about different religious traditions rather than focussing on just one, as is often the case in both Middle Eastern and Western countries (Moore 2007; Lester 2011).

However, in his book, *‘Thinking is an Obligation in Islam’*²³ Abbass Mahoomod Alakad (2007) demonstrates that Islam does accept knowledge from everywhere for the truth to be revealed. El-Baz (2009:41) cited the great Arab philosopher, Abu Yusef Al-Kindi (805–873), saying:

“We should not shy away from welcoming and acquiring the truth regardless of where it comes from, even if it comes from distant races and nations that are different from us. Nothing is more important than seeking the truth except the truth itself”.

Social situations are changing; practices and discourses that were current hundreds of years ago may not be adapted to the present day. Although some religious scripts consider rules of war and use of violence, there are others that discuss ways to live peacefully. The *Mufti* of Islam, Ali Maki (2013) states that peace is mentioned in the Quran in more than 150 places while war is only mentioned in six places. Differing interpretations of discourses and differing opinions are permissible in Islam. War-orientated religious discourses in most cases are based on misunderstanding of religions or the monopolization of religious discourses for their own benefit.

²³ The author has collected evidence from the Quran and the Prophet’s Sayings about the importance and obligation of critical thinking in Islam.

Therefore, peace-oriented education is needed to re-educate and open people's minds. Shabban (2011:95) states that, "the Quran talked about freedom of religion in more than 100 verses, that indicate tolerance is essential in Islam and these verses demonstrated freedom of religions for non-Muslims, free worshiping, no coercion and respect for other". However, these verses are not widely cited and as the impact of scholars' interpretation is influential, religious discourses can become dangerous and promote conflict. Sheikh Ibn Taymiyya (1263- 1328) for example, is quoted by Alkumni (2006:113) as stating, "Everyone who has been informed to become Muslims and refused, it is one's duty to fight them to avoid persecution and all religions must be for Allah"[author's translation from Arabic]. This is not a discourse that demonstrates integration and peaceful coexistence among different ethnicities in society; it is a discourse for war.

There are, however, many verses in the Quran that state people must be free to choose the life they lead. Imposing the religious directives on people of other religions is both against the religious principles of Islam and against the UDHR. The discourse of another sheikh worth mentioning is that of, Sheikh Alkarathawy, one of the great scholars of the committee of Islamic *Fatwa* in Europe who stated:

"there is consensus among Islamic scholars that whoever denies one piece of information from religion necessarily, and disbelieves it; he should be expelled and the imam must order him to repent and stop doing so, or otherwise face apostasy from Islam" [author's translation] (quoted by Alkumni 2006:83).

Thus, PEPs are needed in the Islamic societies to introduce concepts of rational thinking and critical appraisal of discourses that, up until now, have been taken for granted.

In many Muslims majorities, the state failed to provide sufficient revenues to meet the needs of their educational services, leading to an increase in privatisation (Akkrai 2010:13). In particular, Abu-Nimer and Kadayifci (2011) explain how the lack of state-funded schools in urban Pakistan left parents no choice except to go to Madrassa schools. However, these are neglected in terms of service quality and there is no unified curriculum, with different schools teaching different content; thus, Sunni and Shia schools teach different content based on their specific values, a practice that could lead to sectarianism. Indeed, research has found close links between sectarianism and Madrassa in Pakistan (Zaidi 2013:14, Ali 2009, Siddique 2009). This has meant that the state loses control over the curriculum and other educational material. O'Tool (cited in Sayed

2010:79) argues that poor funding of the education system in the Middle East “has contributed to the rise of extremist ideologies that have provided fertile ground for terrorist recruitment in the last decades”.

To live in peaceful coexistence, there has to be no superiority or inferiority of one group over another. Yet laws and regulations can sometimes create systematic discrimination, for example, the implementation of Islamic laws on non-Muslims. Sameer Ameen (2002) argues that the Islamic political movements do not attach very much importance to religious dogma and simply take religious discourses to legitimate their political discourses of violence.

2.7 The Evaluation of Peace Education Programmes

Scholars agree that the main criticism of PEPs is the lack of evaluation of evidence of its impact (Fountain 1999;; Harris 2002; McCauley 2002; Salomon 2002; Harris and Morrison 2003; Seitz 2004:62; Buckland 2006; Ashton 2007; McGlynn et al. 2009; UNESCO 2011). Thus, there is an urgent need for evaluation research (Salomon 2006; Bajaj 2008; Harris 2008). Nevertheless, Nevo and Brem (2002:8) analysed almost one thousand PE research projects and articles from 1981 to 2000. They found that, of the 79 studies evaluating the effectiveness of PEPs, 51 were classified as effective; 18 were partially effective; and 10 not effective.

The lack of evaluations of PEP is in part due to the long period of time required because the internalisation of behaviour, values and skills needs time to show effects. Most evaluations conducted lacked conclusive results due to ‘a very short timeframe of analysis’ (Nevo and Brem 2002:274). Lack of long term financial support and of peace educators are also cited (Fountain 1999; McCauley 2002; Seitz 2004). Harris (2003) suggests that a good evaluation programme must include *formative* and *summative* elements. The formative elements assess the delivery of PEPs, including activities conducted, levels of intervention and the number of participants and meetings. The summative elements evaluate the impact of the PEP on the participants, such as student satisfaction. Hirsland et al. (2004:26) argue that the evaluation must also be comparative, with pre- and post-assessment tests. However, Harris (2004:5) claims that this is difficult to carry out, as although two participant groups may be similar, their participation in the PEP can be influenced by factors such as personal beliefs and previous experiences with conflict.

In developing countries, sponsors and peace educators depend on a positive evaluation to continue the programme. This can lead to misuse, with biased evaluations of failing programmes (Hirsland et al. 2004:13/14).

Thus, scholars agree that PEP evaluations are vital for the integrity of PE, as they will highlight the need for improvement and reveal areas of effectiveness. In time evaluation will lead to the betterment of PEPs; as Salomon and Kupermintz (2002:2) state, 'without it, peace education programmes lead to unknown results and, when they fail, it is not clear why they fail'.

2.8 Conclusion

The chapter discussed a variety of definitions, forms, approaches and content of PE as well as definitions and types of PEPs. Scholars agree that the aim of PE is to disseminate knowledge and skills that lead to changes in attitude and behaviour within the learner that facilitate a culture of peace. There is consensus that PE is context specific, therefore it has different forms and approaches, namely, formal, informal and global. It is also agreed that PE is important for all societies; whether they are experiencing protracted, ethnic conflicts or positive peace they should all be part of the peacebuilding process. However, more empirical evaluation studies of PEPs are needed to tackle their shortcomings and criticisms. The chapter also analysed the challenges specific to implementing PE in schools in Middle Eastern Muslim societies characterised by oppressive undemocratic regimes.

At present, most PEPs are financed by INGOs and their budgets are limited. This lack of financial resources restricts their implementation. However, there is a consensus that PE should be implemented as soon as a war has ended and the peace process has started. Although the majority of PEPs are based on short programs it is agreed that long-term PEPs are needed to create lasting change. Moreover, it is proposed by scholars, such as Bar-Tal and Yigal 2009, McCauley 2002, Salomon and Nevo 1999, Bush and Saltarelli 2000 and many others, that short-term PEPs should be implemented with an independent follow-up evaluation of the program. Based on this, it should then be decided whether a long-term programme should be implemented.

Furthermore, non-consensus over definitions and goals of PE presents a further challenge, although scholars attribute the basis of the different meanings to the fact that peace is a dynamic process that is continually transforming according to circumstance;

conflicts differ from one place to another and people may encounter new problems. But, this lack of an agreed definition and goals mean that peace educators lack support for their arguments, making them seem less valid or credible. Although people are becoming more aware of PE, and it is becoming more widespread all over the world, it has not been embedded in international law to oblige states to teach peace. Moreover, PE generally needs to be more integrative in schools since currently it tends to be additive and based on short courses and workshops.

Finally, PE and HRE need to be more contextualised to meet the needs of specific education systems. In IK, there is still a gap in PE since, although the first additive intervention was introduced in 2007, there is a need for a more integrative approach. There is a scarcity of PE studies in the Muslims Arabs world generally and, consequently, this research will be a significant contribution to the field.

Chapter Three: Methodology

This item has been removed due to 3rd party copyright. The unabridged version of the thesis can be viewed in the Lanchester Library Coventry University.

Robert (1995:7)

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology of the research and the reasoning behind the methods used. It outlines the research questions and objectives, the rationale informing the case study and the selection of participants in the research. It also explains the main analytical method, critical discourse analysis, which is used as a framework by which to analyse the interviews and the HRE and HE curricula content.

Since HRE is inextricably linked with the socio-political situation of a country it is important to acknowledge this context. IK is in a transition period from an authoritarian system to a democracy. However, it is one of the safest places in Iraq, hence, it has the greatest support from INGOs in the region, which both adds to the pressure to achieve democracy and makes change more practical. Consequently, the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) has been trying to implement laws that are in keeping with democratic principles. However, applying them to society is complicated and difficult especially in a tribal society like Kurdistan. Therefore one aim of this study is to provide an analysis that can identify specific challenges and possible solutions to facilitate this process.

As a result of the extremely oppressive nature of Saddam's regime, discussed in detail in the next chapter, people have become reluctant to challenge the injustice, discrimination, and inequality prevalent in Iraqi society. Moreover, since Saddam's war-orientated approach continued for more than three decades, most teachers currently in the education system in IK are graduates of that system and have no experience of other forms of education. However, despite this challenging environment, and in part due to the entrenched habit of blind obedience, educators are in a position to play a positive role in advocating PE and methods of resolving conflicts constructively. Thus, reforms in school education are particularly crucial and, consequently, these form the subject of the study, especially since the majority of scholars agree that it is best to start teaching peace at school age in order to change behaviour and attitudes (e.g. Montessori, 1972, Spodek and

Brown 1993, Spodek 1993, Eckhardt 1984, Johnson, Johnson and Dudley 1992). Peace education enables pupils to be critical of social conditions, to change themselves both as individuals and groups, and to feel responsible for changing society. It encourages cooperation, integration and good citizenship. The diversity of ethnic and religious groups in IK and their troubled history make this especially important.

This is the first in-depth study of human rights and history education, and their relevance to PE, in Kurdistan; and since I have both been schooled and worked as a teacher in Kurdistan, I am very aware of the challenges in this area. It aims to analyse the development and implementation of PE, including teaching methods, identifying the peace and war values promoted, and the ways that religious and ethnic minorities are presented, using parallel analyses of the HRE and HE curricula. To analyse the complicated socio-political situation in IK the research employed the CDA model for the two case studies of HRE and HE, including content analyses of the curricula, ME policy documents and interviews conducted by the researcher with stakeholders including policymakers, curriculum developers, teachers, teacher trainers, students and parents, and interpreted with respect to the social context of modern day IK.

This chapter highlights the scope of the research, giving a brief definition of the relevant concepts. It outlines the challenges facing research on the IK education system and the reasons that inspired me to conduct it.

3.1 The Scope of the Study

There are two forms of PE, formal and informal. The formal concerns all peace knowledge, skills, and trainings conducted within the formal educational system. Informal PE is provided through unofficial structures that target the whole society. Furthermore, scholars, such as Piaget, suggest introducing PE between ages 12 to 15 years since at secondary school level children begin to think reflectively and abstract reasoning starts to develop (Piaget, cited in Ansell 2005); other scholars emphasise that this age group is more prone to be involved in violence and gangs (Lowicki-Zucca 2005:4). This study focuses on the formal approach of PE in IK through an investigation of the contents of HRE and HE provided for pupils between 11 and 14 years old, using a comparison of the contents to contrast the overt PE taught in HRE with the discourses implicit in HE. The textbooks that the thesis covered are called the second generation, developed from 2007 to

2011.²⁴ The focus of the research included the curricula, policy documents and interviews with individuals from the full spectrum of those involved in education.

3.2 The Research Area

The research was conducted in schools in IK, an autonomous region of federal Iraq governed by the KRG. It used samples from schools in three provinces, Duhok, Erbil and Sulaimaniyah, mainly focussing on schools in Dohuk city. These cities are considered the main cities in IK and comprise the majority of the population in the region. This enabled comparison between different types of school, Muslim, Christian and Yezidis. Dohuk city is considered to be the most traditional place in Kurdistan, with strong tribal structures and values and, like most of IK, it is ethnically diverse. Erbil is the capital of the KRG's area, with the oldest castle in the world located in the middle of the city. The three cities are famous for their beautiful summer resorts and as the only places to escape from the heat of the summer for holidays. Sulaimaniyah is the most liberal, with the largest population in IK and, as it borders Iran, is an important economic centre.

However, the contents of textbooks, teacher trainings and recruitment policies are the same throughout the region including schools in disputed areas as most of these are controlled by the KRG. Schools in cities have better standards of teaching staff, monitoring, and study equipment as they are given priority by the ME, whilst rural teachers are less qualified, have less monitoring, hence, schools in villages are more marginalized. Therefore the case study focused mainly on schools in cities as these represent the ME's intentions most clearly, although schools in villages were included to gain better insight into the overall education system. In addition, in schools in Dohuk city, the researcher could build on contacts, having been born, lived and worked as a teacher there. This facilitated access to participants and the educational institutions that I know very well.

3.3 Definitions

Peace Education

This is a relatively new, continuously growing, interdisciplinary subject²⁵ that exists within the academic discipline of peace studies. It exists in various forms, including conflict

²⁴ The first generation of textbooks was introduced from 2004 to 2005

resolution, peer mediation, development education, human rights education, civic education and world order studies. Its pioneers are Galtung, Reardon, Harris, Salomon, Bar-Tal, Brock-Utne and many more.

The subject is included in education reforms of most post-conflict reconstruction programs as a means to promote social progress (Harris 2002) because young people who never learn about nonviolence cannot know how to create a peaceful world when they are adults (Harris 1996). PE aims to teach that, while it may not be possible to end many conflicts, they can be transformed, and it is better to deal with conflict constructively, than to avoid it. It attempts to respond to conflict and violence on scales ranging from the global and national to the local and personal (Hicks 1988), aiming to teach learners their role in contributing to conducting and preserving peace and in fostering cooperative and harmonious relationships within society (e.g., Page 2008, Staub 2002, Sommers 2001).

Bar-Tal (2004) views school as a major agent of socialisation and focuses on its use to change perceptions towards others, emphasising the importance of PE within the school environment. However, PE can also refer to curricula that do not teach violence or treat violence as something abnormal. In this context, Galtung (1990:10) defines violence as including “lies, brainwashing, indoctrination of various kinds, threats that serve to decrease mental potentialities”. Carl and Swartz (1996) argue that PE is a process rather than a product. Similarly, Harris and Mossison (2003) term it a process and philosophy. Accordingly, the whole process needs to be taken into consideration when implementing PEPs as these represent an intersection between knowledge, skills, attitude and behaviour that are as much about how teachers teach (method) than what they teach (content). As Suri (2013:42) argues:

“An educator teaching peace will use conceptual elements of the philosophy and the processes to structure formal, informal and “hidden” curricula, including classroom climate, tolerance, respect and those teachable moments that can transform classroom interactions and learning their societies toward peace.”

Bal-Tal (2002:10) shares Suris (2013) views on the complexities of PE:

²⁵Bar-Tal (2002:28), also Burns and Aspeslagh (1996) assert that peace education has developed since 1970. However, programmes recognizing the need to teach non-violence and the consequences of war were initiated after the WW1 and WW2.

"Peace Education is elusive because it is more about attempting to develop a particular frame of mind, rather than transmitting a body of knowledge, as is the case of the traditional subject of education in schools, it is the change of the affective, attitudinal and behavioural repertoire of the pupils."

In PE, educators themselves learn and do not teach learners as if they were empty vessels waiting for knowledge to be loaded into them. Hence, the learning environment needs to be set up in a democratic, participatory, student-centred class; and it strengthens individuals' capabilities for critical thinking and encourages them to resist activities that spoil peace.

In IK there are different governmental organizations working to resolve conflict peacefully using traditional methods before going to the court. They do significant work but have some deficiencies including male-bias, especially in resolving women's problems (Mohammed 2009). Since PE is context-based it facilitates awareness of such cultural norms so as to transform negative aspects and encourage beneficial cultural practices.

Human Rights Education

HRE is considered an integral part of PE. Reardon (1997) argues that the general ideals of HR provide the foundation for PE. Thus, they form the groundwork for social, political, and economic understandings that will inevitably lead to greater social cohesion and non-violent conflict resolution (Andreopoulos and Claude 1997:436-439).

HRE aims to build knowledge, values, skills needed to respect and achieve human rights and dignity for all people (Human Rights Educator's Network, 1998, p. 21), which are considered the preconditions for positive peace. This is in line with Reardon (1988) who argues that HRE aims to create a peaceful, human society based on equity, mutuality, and the inherent worth of all persons' strengths: the manifestation of global justice.

Thus, HRE aims to provide methods of achieving HR and solutions for the obstacles to this. Therefore, teachers have to be involved in change, and make students aware of the significance of social conflicts by discussing, analysing, comparing and contrasting the various alternatives. It builds skills in using peace-orientated knowledge and encourages students to envision a future free from violence; consequently, the learning process must comprise active and reflective involvement. Hence, HRE is an essential strand within the framework of PEPs and needs to become an integral part of the school curriculum and be assimilated into all subjects to achieve its objectives.

The majority of Kurds are Muslims and there are differences between Islamic and Western perspectives of HR that are manifest in many cultural practices and the way people understand Islamic principles, especially those concerning individuals' rights, such as religious freedom and women's rights. These contradictions are apparent in the Iraqi Constitution, which states that no law shall contradict Sharia. However, at the same time, it states that no law shall contradict democratic values.²⁶ Thus, while Islamic education contradicts some aspects of HRE, as Misgeld (1994) argues, HRE constitutes a process that can enable cultural transformation and the achievement of a just society.

3.4 Analytical Objectives

As explained in Chapter One, the main research questions were:

What are the implicit and explicit values that underlie the curriculum contents and current methods of teaching and how do they relate to peace-oriented methods?

Are people from different ethnic and religious groups adequately involved in decision-making and training?

How does the curriculum process as a whole relate to and interact with IK social practices?

To answer these, the study uses CDA as a framework to analyse the implementation of PE in IK foundation schools. CDA rests on the idea that a widely shared way of thinking and talking about a given aspect of reality influences social practices pertaining to that aspect of reality. Fairclough (1995:219) argues that "it is mainly in discourse that consent is achieved, ideologies are transmitted, and practices, meanings, values and identities are taught and learnt". Moreover, as Eisner (2002:159) states, "what is not taught can be as important in someone's life as what is taught, whether explicitly or implicitly". Therefore, the research seeks to identify the connections between discourse (text) and the taught and 'not-taught' curricula (Ch. 7, 8).

Discourses are inherently political involving the production and distribution of power, and struggles over knowledge, interests, identity and the social relations they enable or undermine. In general, CDA illuminates these by focusing on social construction and exchange of meaning through text. In terms of the inclusion of the diverse ethnic and

²⁶ Article 2 of the *Iraqi Constitution 2005* (United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq, 2005). Available at http://www.uniraq.org/documents/iraqi_constitution.pdf [accessed 18/11/ 2009].

religious groups, this is especially important because “all texts are critical sites for the negotiation of power and ideology” (Burns and Coffin 2001) and control of knowledge not only shapes individuals’ interpretations of the world but also structures the types of discourse and actions individuals may engage in (Van Dijk 1993:258). Consequently, this study explores discursive practices (production, implementation and consumption) (Ch. 6) and social practices (knowledge as power and ideology) (Ch. 6, 7, 8, 9) and how they interact to create destructive or constructive effects. Thus, the specific objectives to be achieved using the CDA are:

- To identify the prevalent discourses represented overtly or implicitly in the curriculum process, including policymaking (Chapter 6), textbook contents (Chapters 7 and 8) and teacher practices (Chapter 9). This relates to Stage One of the CDA analysis as described in detail in Section 3.6.2.
- To interpret the discursive themes identified to illuminate how they relate to social practices and their consequent impact on students, teachers and society as a whole, as described in Section 3.6.2, Stage Two of the analysis.
- To analyse how the different religions and ethnic groups are represented within these discourses, throughout the curriculum process and to explain these in terms of the final objective.
- To explain these findings so as to decipher the socio/political structure that underlies school knowledge and thus the societal order, as described in Stage Three of the analysis in Section 3.6.2.

3.5 Case Study

Since this study aims to explore issues relating to choices and decisions, as well as the specific meaning of curricula contents and how they relate to society/culture, a case study was considered appropriate. As Cohen and Manion (1989:124) note, the interpretive and subjective aspects of educational phenomena can be best explored through case studies. Similarly, Schramm (1971:6) argues that "all types of case study try to illuminate a decision or set of decisions: why they were taken, how they were implemented, and with what result". Furthermore, as Yin states: “In general, case studies are the preferred strategy when “how” and “why” questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control

over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context” (Yin, 2003:1). Moreover, Robson (1993:52) argues that the case study is an appropriate strategy for doing research that involves empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence.

The qualitative data was collected during three field trips in IK; the first from 2/12/2012 to 15/01/2013, the second from 20/05/2013 to 15/06/2013 and the third from 17/07/14 to 25/08/2014. The researcher was able to conduct structured individual interviews and focus groups interviews with a broad variety of people involved in the development and implementation of the HRE and HE curricula: ME officials, curriculum developers, ME supervisors and trainers in HRE, local NGOs, governmental child protection centres, teachers and school monitors of HRE and HE, and the supervisors of the monitors, as well as several informal conversations with students and parents. Reference to ME documents and journals were also used to provide background information. The KRG region comprises three cities, Duhok, Erbil and Sulaimaniyah. It includes different ethnic religious groups, such as Muslims Sunni, Shiia, Christian, Armenian, Yezidis, Sabba, Faili, Shabak, etc. The three cities are able to take part in decision-making through local offices of the ME. To complement my case study of urban schools, research included rural areas surrounding these cities.

This next section outlines the reasoning behind using a qualitative method of research, followed by the details of the interview process.

3.5.1 Qualitative and Quantitative Research Methods

Silverman (2005:6) argues that when choosing a research method, one should ask what one is trying to achieve, whilst Bryman (2008) asserts that research questions have to be in line with research methods. In respect to this, Charmaz (2006: 14) favours qualitative methods because qualitative interviews “add pieces to the research puzzle or conjure entire new puzzles”. Similarly, Eisner (1991:58) states that qualitative research study can help us “understand the situation that is otherwise enigmatic or confusing”. Bryman (2000) has similar views on qualitative research asserting that it is more focused on interpretation and awareness of context than is quantitative research. In qualitative research, “the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and data analysis” (Merriam, 2002: 5), while in quantitative work there is a distance between the researchers and the informants. Hence, qualitative work is more appropriate to this study since, although a survey provides

statistics, I was concerned with in-depth discussion of the context and students' actual experience (Bryman, 2008) and articulating different points of view. Furthermore, in qualitative interviews one can adjust questions to follow up interesting answers and so be open to serendipitous findings (Mason, 2002).

The qualitative approach is especially useful when researching new subjects where the relevant issues need to be defined rather than confirming previously developed ideas. Hence, as this is the first research on HRE in Kurdistan, where both the subject of PE and curriculum analysis are new, a qualitative approach was chosen.

However, qualitative research has been criticized for being "*unscientific*", too subjective and imprecise, because its data is subject to various interpretations, and lacks validity, reliability and generalizability (Bryman 2004; Gray 2009). Bryman (2004: 284) further argues that interviews tend to be subjective and over-rely on "the researcher's often unsystematic views about what is significant and important, and also upon the close personal relationships that the researcher frequently strikes up with the people studied". However, in the context, the variety of interpretations serves to enrich the study while awareness of issues of validity, reliability, generalizability and bias can be ameliorated (Hogland and Oberg 2011:185). Accordingly, certain strategies were employed to allow for these, as discussed in Section 3.5.4.

3.5.2 Participants Selection

Knowing how to choose informants is an important consideration in qualitative research (Holme and Solvang, 1996: 98). The most likely age group to exhibit aggressive and violent behaviour are youths at the beginning of secondary school or in early adolescent (Parault 2007:146 and Sullivan 2004: 8). Therefore, the study takes the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th grades textbooks for history and human rights education as the study sample. The researcher interviewed a variety of key informants to gain a clear overview and comprehensive understanding from different perspectives. For example, teachers because they convey education values and objectives, teacher trainers because they influence the teachers, ME policy decisions-makers as they are responsible for the overall strategy, curriculum developers as they decide the details of the curricula, and pupils as they are most affected by the issues. Gender sensitivity and ethnic balance was ensured with female teachers, pupils and officials in the ME included among the interviewees. In Kurdistan, schools are mixed, boys and girls, at foundation level and then sex-separated until university. The selection also ensured that participants came from different social

backgrounds and ethnic and religious groups such as Muslims, Yezidis, and Christians; and included interviews in villages and towns, and interviews with focus groups and individuals. The author also made some informal interviews with parents. A total of 59 interviews were made excluding informal meetings and conversations with parents, teachers and other education stakeholders.

3.5.3 The Interview Process

Since this is unique research and there has been very little related fieldwork conducted in IK, interviews with officials in the ME were considered as a sign of respect, and they were happy to cooperate by providing information. Thus, the researcher felt motivated and could prompt and ask for clarifications, and participants introduced new ideas. The good contacts that I had in the area enabled me to set up interviews and to contact officials in the ministry.

When being interviewed people make gestures by which to know whether the researcher is following the informant. To ensure impartiality, the researcher had to be careful not to respond with gestures that meant agreement or refusal of the informant's argument. The researcher bore in mind that in interviews the informant may choose not to answer a question, may get irritated, criticize, or withdraw (Kemp and Ellen, 1984:230-231). I audio-recorded and transcribed all interviews apart from one when the interviewee refused to be audiotaped and I had to take notes.

Qualitative Interviews

Semi-structured (semi-standardized) and un-structured (un-standardized) interviews are referred to as *in-depth interviews* or *qualitative interviews* (Bryman 2004). The researcher used informal as well as formal interviews, since these can add information that may not otherwise have been obtained; in a society where people still fear talking and expressing their opinion, this is especially important. More formal interviews were used in interviewing government officials.

Before an interview, the researcher gave an overview of the research and its main aims (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009) and reassured interviewees about confidentiality and anonymity of informants. Furthermore, the researcher explained to them that their participation was appreciated and there was no right or wrong answer to the questions. My aim was to create an open atmosphere and avoid them wanting to please me by giving an

answer they thought I wanted to hear. I also ensured that no one could have access to the material except me and my supervisory team.

Rubin and Rubin (2005) caution researchers using qualitative interviews to be aware that it requires skills and attention beyond those of ordinary conversation, including “more intense listening than normal conversations, a respect for and curiosity about what people say, a willingness to acknowledge what is not understood, and the ability to ask what is not yet known” (Rubin and Rubin 2005: 14). Consequently, the researcher remained aware of this throughout interviews.

The researcher conducted fifty-nine qualitative interviews. These included nineteen individual interviews with teachers, (seven in Duhok, six in Erbil, and six in Sulaimaniyah); nine individual interviews with monitors of HRE and HE, (three in Duhok, three in Erbil and three in Sulaimaniyah); one focus group interview with directors of monitors in Duhok city; one interview with a curriculum developer in the Christian section of the Duhok district education directorate; three individual interviews with Public Aid Organization (PAO) representatives, (one in the Duhok branch, two in the Erbil branch); three interviews with curriculum development representatives of ME; two interviews with ME supervisors and trainers of HRE in Erbil; three interviews with ME consultant advisors in Erbil; two interviews with representatives in Sulaimaniyah of the NGO, Civil Development Organisation (CDO); and one interview with a representative in Sulaimaniyah of the INGO, Norwegian People’s Aid (NPA). Moreover, I had numerous informal conversations with many teachers, parents and students.

Focus Groups Interviews

To get the most benefit from interviews and ensure reliability and validity of data, after interviewing the teachers individually, I used focus groups to draw out the viewpoint of participants to add to the qualitative analysis (Marks and Yardley, 2004). Thus, this method was used to capture any missed information and also to back up information I gathered through analysing the textbooks, and to compare and contrast with what I observed in the field, especially the data gathered relating to teaching methods because this area of research is especially traditional.

Prior to the focus group discussion I prepared the questions carefully; during the meeting, I took notes and I ensured everyone participated freely in the discussion by probing and cross-checking. I wrote my notes immediately after the meeting. Then I

rearranged or changed the questions if I thought it necessary for the coming interview. I was able to make eleven focus group interviews, eight with teachers (four in Duhok, two in Erbil and two in Sulaimaniyah) and one with monitors in each city. The number of attendees was between four and six because, with more, the attendees would have had to wait their turns and I might not have been able to control the meeting.

Participant Observation

According to Gall, Gall and Borg (2003), measures to avoid attracting attention when in observation are characterized by the data being collected in a natural manner. The notes from this observation can help to cross check, verify and reinforce data from the qualitative and the focus group discussions, and hence to validate findings and gain a good overall picture of the problems in schools. Yin (2003) states that participant observation “provides certain unusual opportunities for collecting case study data, but also involves major problems” (Yin 2003: 94). These ‘major problems’ relate to the lack of time to take notes when doing observations. I had to take some notes while observing and when I arrived home I immediately made records of the observation. Spradley (1980) explains participant observation in terms of “participation allows you to experience activities directly, to get the feel of what events are like, and to record your own perceptions” (Spradley 1980: 51). Thus, observation is considered the best method for cross-checking the information, as this made the researcher see the school environment and put himself in the pupils’ place. Therefore, I conducted many observations as there were three shifts of schools, running from 8 am to 5 pm. During my stay I did this for four to five days from morning to evening and then generally met teachers at night to share tea in a tea shop.

3.5.4 Challenges

i. *Reliability and Validity*

The research took both reliability and validity into account throughout the data collection. Validity is a way of assuring that you are measuring what you intend to measure, and reliability concerns the accuracy of the methods and techniques used to collect data (Mason 2004: 39).

Yin (2003: 34) defines reliability as “establishing correct operational measures for the concepts being studied”. Yin (2003: 34) further argues that an effective way to maximize the reliability of data is to “use multiple sources of data, establish a chain of

evidence and have key informants review draft case study reports". Therefore, I used a triangulation process, involving interviews, focus groups and participant observations to cross check the data gathered from the contents analysis of the curricula and policy strategies. I also documented the procedures I used (Silverman 2005: 221; 224). My main data was textbook description and interpretation, which removed some risk of subjectivity and bias. Thus, the reliability and validity of data depended on the researchers familiarity with the techniques used in collecting data and the subjectivity and objectivity of the researcher depended on sensitivity to the subject and type of research. Hence, it would be inappropriate to doubt the research credibility on the grounds that the researcher is an insider as all information was double-checked when needed. This was backed up by interviewing ME officials with inside knowledge and access to information.

ii. Generalizability

Yin differentiates between *statistical* generalization and *analytic* generalization. He argues that when using surveys, researchers select a specific sample that needs to be transferable to a larger universe. However, when dealing with case studies he asserts that problems associated with *statistical generalization* are irrelevant since one relies on *analytical generalization* where the researcher strives to generalize a particular analysis to a broader theory (Yin, 1994: 36). According to this argument, generalization does not present serious issues for this case study.

iii. Bias

Being unbiased means that data is reliable in a way that is controlled and unaffected by personal prejudice (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). However, without awareness of this, it is easy for the researcher to stress positive or negative sides in interviews. Cohen et al. (2000:120) have defined bias as "a systematic tendency to make errors in the same direction". Bias means overstating or understating "the true value of an attribute". It also can be unintended and, as stated by Kvale and Brinkmann (2009:170), "unacknowledged biases may entirely invalidate the results of an interview inquiry". To avoid bias and foster different constructions of reality, it is important to recognise that no research methodology can be completely objective. I used multiple research techniques including interviews, observation and conversations, and researched what Gray (2009) calls "space

triangulation” in multiple places. Furthermore, I interviewed actors working in the field from different backgrounds operating at various institutions to avoid bias.

iv. Insider/Outsider Issues

I am considered an insider outsider; an insider because I was born and lived most of my life in Kurdistan and an outsider as I am currently studying and living abroad. This had both negative and positive side-effects on the research (Smyth 2005). The main advantage of being an insider is proficiency in the language of the informants and awareness of the social cultural context. This helped me understand what people said to each other as well as to me, truly understand the social interactions, and avoid interpreter bias. Having been brought up in IK also gave me easy access to contacts through which to arrange interviews. In addition, having the social status associated with working as teacher in the University of Dohuk (UOD), put me in a better position to meet officials in the ME. However, one may argue that this could be detrimental as informants may seek to please a researcher with status and consequently they may be less honest. To minimise this, the author ensured their anonymity and confidentiality and assured them that their names and the name of their school would not be revealed anywhere in the thesis and that the researcher and the supervisor would be the only people to have access to the information.

A possible consequence of being an insider is that I might have imposed my values, views and beliefs onto the research. Thus, the challenge was to distance myself from the social and cultural context so as to be impartial and not take anything for granted. In fact, the awareness of my position as insider and outsider actually helped me to be more reflective and aware of the risks of partiality. In particular, discussion with my supervisor regarding my role in researching my own context and the emotional and cultural challenges involved in this made me more aware of pitfalls and helped me develop a strategy to counter such bias and challenges.

On the other hand, being an outsider and studying in the UK meant I gained respect, status, legitimacy and credibility. There is great respect in IK for scholars studying at Western universities, and this facilitated developing mutual trust with informants. Studying abroad also enabled me to gain perspective and reflect on the situation because I could distance myself from the Kurdish context and develop a more critical approach. It also gave my informants more confidence and freedom to speak openly. Conversely, some

people perceived me as an authentic outsider,²⁷ believing that because I was studying abroad and writing about PE, I intended to bring Western culture to Kurdistan and undermine Islamic Kurdish values. However, my insider identity and my position teaching at a local university served to mitigate this accusation.

Moreover, I presented myself and my research in a clear, official and open manner. I had support letters from my supervisor and Coventry University stating the aim of the research. I, also, had a letter from UOD where I previously worked asking schools to help me conduct the research. In addition, I had a support letter from the ME asking school principals and teachers to facilitate my research. The ME also sent letters on its own behalf to all schools in IK, stating the aim and objectives of the research. This dispersed suspicion and helped build trust and cooperative relationships with my informants (Smyth 2005). It also made my research clearer to interviewees before meeting them and motivated some teachers to call me because they wanted to be interviewed. By making myself and my research objectives clear I avoided a situation described by Walsh (1998:225), in which if people “know nothing about the research, they are likely to be suspicious and wonder if the researcher is acting as some kind of agent or spy for an outsider body”.

Furthermore, my insider-outsider position helped me see the similarities and differences between the Western epistemology of education and the IK cultural tradition of education. Moreover, studying for an MA and PhD in peace and conflict studies gave me insights that aided me in identifying the cultural practices that are taken for granted. During the whole process of the PhD research, from the early conceptualising of the topic of research, through writing up the aims and objectives, to collecting data, I was always reflecting on my own position by asking questions such as: ‘How could I describe and analyse a social system of which I am myself a product?’; and ‘How can I avoid being biased?’. Indeed, reflecting on my educational experience in IK and my experience studying in the West has encouraged me to contribute to improving the IK education system. However, I continually reminded myself to be objective and critical to ensure that my having grown up and lived in Kurdistan would not bias my process of collecting the data, analysing it and writing it up, especially as I am aware that I may be unconsciously subjective.

²⁷ The converse of this is that when a single voice is positioned as the proprietary “Authentic Insider” with respect to a Third World context, the singularity of that voice and its perspective tends to be effaced, and it comes to stand for things like “the Third-World position on human rights” or “the Indian feminist position on development” (Narayan, 1997: 143).

v. Ethical Considerations

Completing an ethical approval form is particularly important when data are taken directly from human beings. My application was approved by my director of studies and another faculty's Ethics Committee. The UK system of ethical approval is well structured and rigorous. However, in IK, both academic staff and the public have limited experience of research ethics. Participants found it strange and surprising that I had to get their consent and share the information about the research aims and objectives, a response that is probably related to the hierarchal, top-down type of social order in IK. However, I felt comfortable, confident and trusting in Coventry University's ethical procedure; I appreciated that it recognised the role and value of the informants and acknowledged and respected them.

The UK system is especially interested in providing research participants with all necessary ethical information when dealing with minors (under 18 years old). In accordance with this, when I interviewed students who were minors, I provided them with consent letters explaining my aims and objectives and their rights of confidentiality and withdrawal at any time during the process; consequently, I have not mentioned their names for reasons of confidentiality. I also provided all students, principals and parents with consent letters explaining the same details.

Furthermore, in all interviews with minors, whether in focus groups or as individuals, a teacher had to be present - not necessarily sitting at the same table but in the same room. I always made sure that this teacher did not teach my informant students. Most of the time, this was the sports teacher as they have the most free time and are liked by students, as all students pass the exams in this subject. This was to give students more freedom and confidence to talk openly. Students were happy to be interviewed as they felt their knowledge was accredited and recognised. This was noticeable as many students approached me, wanting to be interviewed because it provided a space to have someone listen to their views and concerns. I also noticed that many teachers approached me and argued that students have no knowledge to impart; they were astonished to hear that a researcher wanted to interview students as this is unusual. Moreover, students expressed interest and that they felt that the research is for their own benefit. However, despite my

precautions, the teacher's presence may have scared some students from being open and honest.

I provided my interviewees with consent forms written in Kurdish. I also read the contents to them to make sure they understood it. All my informants signed two copies, one for the researcher and one for the informant. I provided my email, telephone number and the place of work at Coventry University and the University of Duhok in the consent form. Since university lecturers in IK have very good social status, my interviewees were more trusting and willing to be interviewed, and felt more able to talk freely within the interviews.

Thus, I had no problem with finding interviewees willing to take part in the research as informants felt privileged to be part of the research as they had been chosen from among many informants they felt privileged. Some students felt they were not able to answer some questions adequately, which worried them. However, I explained that there are no right or wrong answers, and that they could skip any questions they were not comfortable with. Although the students felt happy to be interviewed, some were concerned because they said they were aware that journalists sometimes interviewed people and then published things that they had not said.

Through these considerations, the right to self-determination and autonomy was emphasized; the informants were aware they had the right to determine their own participation in the research, that their consent was informed and voluntary and that they were able to withdraw from the project whenever they chose. This ensured the participants' protection by confirming that the research was not to cause them harm and aimed to represent them in an accurate and honest manner. The interviews were conducted in Kurdish, transcribed and then translated into English. As described in the next section, the accuracy of translations was ensured by sending samples from the interviews to a professional translator for confirmation.

vi. Fieldwork Risks and Challenges

Although the researcher is an insider to the context in Kurdistan and aware of the complexity in Kurdish society, it was important to take nothing for granted. Galtung (1975:268-270) cautions researchers that they might be contributing to structural violence through a process he terms, penetration. This means that the researcher takes things for granted and assumes that he/she knows better than the research subjects themselves. In this matter, the researcher acts as the conscience of those being researched and fails to learn

their true opinions.

To avoid relying on memorising what I observed in schools, and any technical problems with the recording, I took notes during the interviews and observations. I was aware that I might come across emotionally difficult situations, whether in the form of a case of violence against or by students, or students being neglected or ignorant. Accordingly I was prepared not to let this affect the validity of the research.

The researcher was provided with a certificate signed by the president of the University of Duhok, and letters from Coventry University to facilitate conducting the research. I also utilised my personal contacts. Conducting qualitative research in Iraq in general and Kurdistan in particular was challenging because we are not used to doing surveys and qualitative studies, the majority of studies being either based on quantitative methods or simply on books and documents.

The Kurdish language is my mother tongue and there are two main dialects in Kurdistan: Sorani (spoken and written in Erbil and Sulaimaniyah) and Badinani (spoken and written in Duhok). There are major differences between the two dialects, however, many educated people speak, write and understand both dialects. But, the majority of people do not understand both dialects well. With my informants in Duhok city, I conducted interviews in Badinani language and in Erbil I used Sorani dialect. I speak, understand and write both Badinani and Sorani, therefore, I did not have difficulties with this. In transcribing the interviews from Kurdish to English, I ensured the translation was objective and up to the standard by using a professional third party to help me double-check for language mistakes and distortions. Although the official language in Baghdad is Arabic, in all KRG policy papers are written in Kurdish, as are all the school curricula, whilst most university books are written in Arabic. Nonetheless, I am fluent in Arabic which facilitated the use of Arabic documents.

3.6 Data Analysis

Critical discourse analysis is used to study the connections between texts (discourse), discursive practices (text production, dissemination and consumption) and social practices (discourse as ideology and power) and how they interact with one another to carry constructive (or destructive) effects. It provides a means to examine the knowledge,

values and skills that the curricula transmit in relation to peaceful and warlike values (Fairclough 2004).

Thus, in order to fulfil the aims of the study, the analysis considered what counts as knowledge to students, how this knowledge is controlled, omitted, silenced, neglected or ignored by participation or non-participation. Foucault's theories address how power is embedded in the educational setting, arguing that "knowledge is used to legitimate and extend the interests of those served by the effects of such power and to justify the subjugation of certain groups on the basis of transcendent norms" (Foucault quoted in McLaren 1991:17).

Thus, knowledge can be used to maintain power relations that link it with dominance enacted through teachers' authority over students and the control of the knowledge taught (Giroux 1997). Power and dominance can reside with all social actors; these include parents, teachers, management, and students, as well as the curriculum (Fairclough 2001b and Ball 1994). Apple (2004) argues that power within educational discourse might be political, economic and cultural and reveals itself within the policies, rules and regulations, syllabuses, the hidden curriculum and how these are reinforced. However, discourses are not predictable and dominance is not always enacted from above (Van Dijk 2001); power can involve domination within groups, and with their consent, either passively or actively (Golding 1992). For example, teachers may be both recipients of external power relations and actively give legitimacy to certain forms of knowledge and social practices (Apple 2004).

3.6.1. The Benefits of CDA for this Study

The study looks at the curricula as a process, including how they are produced, implemented, benefited and consumed. As Woodside-Jiron (2004:190) suggests, "to ensure the success of policy, one must engage in discourse practices that eliminate as much resistance as possible". Therefore CDA can assist in clarifying policy processes that produce the text, the purpose for the text production and the process of implementation.

Curriculum contents discourse analysis is inclusive; it includes written texts and spoken language, as well as unintended contents that influence teachers' and students' thinking. This latter is the *hidden curriculum* that is implicit in the contextual culture and transmitted in pedagogies without being noticed, whereas the *null curriculum* refers to elements that are not taught but remain as knowledge that is taken for granted, ignored, or marginalized (Flinders, Noddings, and Thornton, 1986; Giroux, 1983; Skelton, 1997). For

Skelton (1997:187) this is effective in the “moments of student learning, unlearning and relearning of ideas, values, norms and beliefs”.

Moreover, there are anonymous rules controlling what can and cannot be said within a given discourse and it is these rules that characterize the discourse and control resistance. Thus, when a topic is explained by teachers working ‘inside the box’, he/she controls what the students can say because teachers lack professional qualities or have other constraints such as work overload, or because the system is authoritarian or teachers have vested interests in dominant knowledge. Therefore discourses become static and the meaning fixed within the context. However, McKenzie (2006:200) argues that “the aim of discourse analysis is not to uncover an objective reality, but to investigate how we construct objectivity, or sedimented power, through the discursive production of meaning”.

CDA analyses how contents are related to the social practices of a society, how content challenges, resists and entrenches the power relation of dominant groups, and whether it aims to reduce the dominance or to maintain the power relations. As Stevens (2004:207) indicates, “Critical Discourse Analysis is a theory and method that draws on the dialogic relationship between texts and social practices”.

Thus, CDA provides insight into how education makes connections between the texts, the language used and social practices. These connections may not be obvious to the people who educate and interpret the texts (Fairclough 1995). CDA can identify privileged knowledge and practices known as legitimate knowledge (Fairclough 2003), and can thus facilitate consciousness of how language contributes to domination or emancipation (Fairclough 1989:1). Otherwise, through everyday use, these practices become institutional and/or accepted as commonsense. Thus, CDA can challenge the reproduction of dominance in discourse (Fairclough 2001a).

3.6.2 Applying CDA

The process of CDA involves closely examining language through text, looking for patterns in language use and investigating the inter-relationships within the discursive environment (Fairclough 1995). Discourses are identifiable through the words and concepts within texts that are specific to that particular context or field of knowledge (Luke 1995). Fairclough (2001b, 2003) identified three stages in the process: analysis of text; analysis of the process of text production, consumption and distribution; and socio-cultural analysis of discursive events and practices.

Stage one involved describing the texts, including words and their related experiential values, and considering whether they are ideologically contested and what expressive values they comprise. To do this, I noted the words and images used in the textbooks and interviews (after transcribing and translating) that I considered significant in the overall context, such as phrases indicating conflict/war-orientation or peace-related values. I then identified the main themes by understanding phrases both within the sentence and in the context (e.g., peace-oriented, conflict-oriented, how the term is presented), and arranged the terms in a table with columns showing the textbook year, page number and the associated theme.²⁸ Thus, frequency of citation, textual frames and prominence of the "main themes" in the texts become apparent (Fairclough 2003:129). To establish the themes, I used the typology of Austin (1962) that identifies three features to be taken into consideration when analysing contents: (a) their locutionary or referential meaning (what the text was about); (b) their illocutionary force (what the person who wrote the texts does with them, what it means to them, what it mean if texts are contradictory); and (c) their perlocutionary force (their effect on the hearer, how it influences the audience).

Thus, all similar responses from documents and interviews were grouped together according to topic. I then analysed the answers, comparing and contrasting them with my field observations and with what I knew of the context. In short, this corresponded to Blanche and Durrheim's (1999:140) statement that data analysis involves reading through your data repeatedly, and engaging in activities of breaking the data down (thematizing and categorizing) and building it up again in new ways (elaborating and interpreting).

Stage two is the interpretation of the texts, in particular, identifying which dominant discourses are prevalent, marginalised, silenced or excluded, intentionally or unintentionally, and how they relate to social practice.

Thus, after identifying the prevalent dominant discourses, I carefully reread the texts to detect any attitudes or underlying opinions expressed by the authors in relation to the relevant values. To do this, I kept some pre-prepared questions²⁹ in front of me as I read and analysed the data by coding the textbook contents, interviews and field notes. Through this, I identified the dichotomies within these discourses, what these meant to the students

²⁸ See Appendix E.

²⁹ See Appendix F

and what is absent; as Eisner (2002:159) stated, “what is not taught can be as important in someone’s life as what is taught, whether explicitly or implicitly”. I considered such issues as whether the contents would be mean the same to all students (especially in relation to ethnic group) and how they are liable to influence the hearer; thus, uncovering the ‘taken for granted knowledge’ that advantages some participants at the expense of others (i.e., knowledge as ideology and power). I, also, considered how these discourses relate to the students’ everyday social practices; how the students understood the discourses as discourses need explanation and how teachers explains the texts; and how students implement these texts. This included the interviewees’ understanding of the text; since understanding discourse requires information to make inferences as to what is implied this is very relevant to students in IK for whom information is limited.

Stage three is the explanation of the texts in terms of how power relations at institutional level, societal level and situational level contribute to shaping and sustaining these discourses; how dominant discourses represented in the contents influence learners in tandem with social practices; and the relevance of these discourses to uncovering social conflicts, inequalities and injustices. This is done by identifying which discourses are represented, legitimised and reproduced and how participants resist or comply with dominant discourses. Thus, this stage explains the relationship between discursive processes and wider social practices, revealing the taken-for-granted discourses in the process. This involves considerations such as how the overall process consolidates learning, what other information backs up the texts, whether the aim is to sustain, shape or challenge existing discourses and how ME policy, strategy and implementation influence bear on these discourses.

3.7 Table of Objectives

Chapter One

Introduction

To give an overview of the study and the importance of PEPs in the contemporary context of the region.

<p>Chapter Two</p> <p>Literature Review</p> <p>To provide a broad overview of relevant academic discussion of the subject.</p>
<p>Chapter Three</p> <p>Methodology</p> <p>To outline the aims of the research, describe the methods that the researcher used in collecting data, identify the challenges that faced the researcher and the precautions the researcher took.</p>
<p>Chapter Four</p> <p>The socio-political context of IK</p> <p>To outline the socio-political context, including a brief historical background of the Kurdish people's origins and the events leading up to the inception of the KRG. To examine the current socio-political status in Kurdistan and contemporary Kurdish relations with the Iraqi government and identify the most contested issues between the two governments.</p>
<p>Chapter Five</p> <p>Background of the Iraqi and IK education system</p> <p>To provide background about education in Kurdistan. More specifically, to identify the aims of education in Kurdistan, the difficulties in achieving these and the effects on education of the conflicts that Kurds have experienced.</p>
<p>Chapter Six, Seven and Eight - Data Analysis:</p>
<p>Chapter Six</p> <p>The policy and the Strategies of the ME for implementing HRE and HE</p> <p>To explain the policy and the strategy and explore the challenges facing the ME in ensuring quality of HRE and HE. To identify the facilities and support it provides to achieve its aims and objectives.</p>

Chapter Seven and Eight

Contents Analyses of HRE and HE

To identify the explicit and implicit values that HRE and HE promote in IK schools. How do these subjects represent the other components of the societies? What form of activities and learning exercises are mostly taught to students?

Chapter Nine

Analysis of Teaching Methods

To explore teaching methods in IK and how they relate to peace-oriented methods and to ascertain if these correspond to ME policy and strategies. To identify criteria by which the ME ensures implementation of policies and what hinders teachers from using peace-oriented method.

Chapter Ten

Concluding Remarks

To sum up the overall findings of the thesis and indicate the challenges involved and the factors contributing the current level of success of the PE in IK schools. Further, to contextualise these results in terms of their contribution to related academic discourse, concerning the significance of education both generally and in the Middle East in particular.

Chapter Four: Socio-political Situation in Iraq and Iraqi Kurdistan

4.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a chronological summary of relevant events from 1919 to 2014 and aims to give some insight into the issues involved. Scholars have only recently, after the establishment of the de facto state of Kurdistan, written about Kurdish history. Thus, there are numerous questions that have been neglected in academic discourse: How did the British approach Kurdish issues? How did the Royal Hashemite rule deal with Kurds? How does the international community treat Kurdish peoples? What impact did this have on the political development of Kurdistan?

The chapter firstly gives a brief overview of the origins of the Kurdish people and how they have become marginalized in academic research. It then examines the rule of the Republic of Iraq and their views and treatment of Kurdish issues, and outlines the impact of Ba'athist policy and the effects of the Iraq-Iran war on Ba'ath/Kurdish relations. The chapter analyses the impact of the regime change in 2003 on Kurdish political development and outlines the current obstacles and potentials.

4.1 The Kurds: Who are They?

Kurdistan refers to the geographical area where the Kurdish people live; this includes areas of northern Iraq, northern Syria, northern and western Iran and eastern Turkey. It is not recognized as a defined area by the international community although the de facto borders are known to the people resident there (McDowall, 1997). There are also large communities of Kurds living in other areas, such as Armenia, Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan, and Europe. This study concerns the Iraqi part of Kurdistan.

There are no official statistics that give an accurate indication of the size of the Kurdish population, and estimates differ between scholars. It is possible that the Kurds themselves exaggerate their numbers to get international sympathy, whilst the Kurdish government increased the numbers for political reasons. Hassanpour (1992) argues that the Kurds constitute the fourth largest ethnic group in the Middle East, estimating their numbers at 20-40 million. In Iraq, itself, there are thought to be more than four million Kurds (Muller and Linzey 2007).

It is believed that the Kurds descended from the Medes (a people mentioned in the

Old Testament of the Bible) nearly 4,000 years ago (Cook 1995). Most are Sunni Muslims (the religion of the majority of the Middle East), whilst Shiia, Assyrians³⁰ and Yezidis³¹ are among the minorities. The Ottoman Empire divided the areas into three *wilayats* (provinces): Diyarbakir and Raqqa (which are in present day Turkey and Syria) and Mosul which coincides more or less with today's northern Iraq (Natali, 2004: 112-113; Van Bruinessen, 1992: 11, 157-158; Yildiz, 2004: 9). In 1919, as a result of the Paris Peace conference, the Kurdish people were forcibly divided among four countries: Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Turkey.

Kurdistan is a tribal-based society, and the topographical situation with high mountains and deep valleys has contributed to the isolation of the tribes. This has turned them into independent and closed societies with strong kinships ties and relationships amongst themselves (Anderson and Stansfield, 2004). The economic, political, and social difficulties they have suffered have strengthened their national identity and united them (Bruinessen 1992). Kurdistan has three main dialects, the people of Erbil and Sulaimaniyah speak Sorani, Badinani (Krmachi) is the dialect of Duhok province and the Zaza dialect is also spoken; many Kurds also speak Arabic. As Salomon (2002) argues, history, or collective narrative, is of crucial importance in building and spoiling peace and this has played a great part in the development of Kurdish politics as described below.

4.2 The Aftermath of Ottoman Empire till 1932

In August 1920, the League of Nations divided the Middle East into states according to the Sèvres Treaty. This called for the creation of an independent Kurdistan, Armenia, the Gulf Arab states and Iraq; and gave the British a mandate over Iraq. The British were interested in Iraq for economic and geopolitical reasons, including enrichment through Iraq's wealth of oil, and a safe route to India (Tripp 2000). In 1923, the Sèvres Treaty was replaced by the Treaty of Lausanne, which annulled the Kurdish right to independence. There were

³⁰ Assyrians are also known as Syrians, Chaldeans, Assyro Chaldeans (Chaldo Assyrians). They live in different areas in Iraq, mainly in the mountainous areas of east Mosul, Duhok, Akra, Amedya District, Erbil Ayn Kawa, Kuy Sanjaq, Baghdad and almost every city in Iraq. There is no accurate assessment of the size of the Assyrian population in Iraq as there has not been any census in Iraq. Estimated numbers vary between 40,000 and 45,000 in the IK region. (For more information, see David Nissman's review *RFE/RL Iraq Report*, vol.2, N13, 2 April 1999. His research mainly focusses on Assyrians and Christians.

³¹ The majority of Yezidis live in IK, mainly in Duhok province although their numbers vary (approximately 400,000). They have a syncretistic religion and IK is considered to have their main sanctuaries and places of pilgrimage. Most speak Kurdish Kirmani; however due to the Arabisation policy of the previous government in some areas, such as some groups of Yezidis in Senjar city, they speak Arabic. But the language of their prayers and religious texts is Kurdish.

specific reasons leading to the British back-tracking on the Sèvres treaty: Turkish opposition to Kurdish independence (especially following their victory over Greece in 1922); the British awareness of the richness of the area in terms of oil (Entessar 1992:52); and the immature nature of political leadership in Kurdistan (Anderson and Stansfield 2004: 162).

The Iraqis were torn between supporting the British mandate or attempting to maintain the status quo and aligning themselves with the Ottoman Empire. On the one hand, they wanted to support the British as the only power able to expel the Ottomans from Iraq. On the other, they were concerned about British interest in a long-term stay in the country. However, the majority of Iraqis helped the British to expel the Ottomans from Iraq, in part due to the fact that the British supported the tribal leaders by giving them privileges and lands to encourage them to accept the British mandate.

The Kurds in northern Iraq welcomed the British mandate. They believed the British would give them an autonomous territory, especially as Iraq was then divided into three wilayats (regions): Mosul, Basra and Baghdad. The British appointed Mahmud Barzinji as ruler of Kirkuk and Sulaimaniyah and he was accepted by the people of Kurdistan (Stansfield, 2007: 39-40). Thus, indirect rule was established in Kurdistan through local leaders who cooperated with the British. However, Mahmud Barzinji was reluctant to be ruled by the British and was aware of the British "divide and rule" policy, whereby they incited one tribe against another to undermine Kurdish demands for independence. Consequently, he chose to fight for Kurdish independence. However, the British defeated him and re-established British administration in Kurdistan. In 1924, the British felt they were in a position that required force to suppress the Kurdish movement and so coerced Mahmud Barzinji to flee. They also defeated the Turkish troops that were attempting to claim the Mosul wilayat. Although they used Kurds to fight Turks, the magnitude of the resistance was so great it obliged the British to use the Royal Air Force to suppress it (Entessar 1992:53).

The first Iraqi government was formed in November 1920 under British supervision who appointed a Sunni, Sayyid Abdl Rahman Alkailani, as president. The government was predominately Sunni with only a few Shiia representatives. Subsequently, at the 1921 Cairo Conference, the Kingdom of Iraq was established under the Hashemite, King Feisal, followed by a fake referendum in which Feisal claimed victory with 96% of the vote. However, being a Sunni, he was not favoured by Shiia and he did not have support from Kurds. To calm his opposition, the British introduced the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty

in 1922 and, in 1927, the British promised Iraqis that they would recommend Iraq to become a member of the League of Nations in 1932.

In 1930, a new treaty was signed between the Iraqi government and the British which indicated that the British should remain in Iraq for twenty five years after Iraq had become a member of the League of Nations. Around this time, the Iraq government promised to institute special administrative, educational, cultural and linguistic measures in Kurdistan. However, these promises were broken and the Kurds revolted against the government, but with help from the British they were defeated.

In 1931, Iraq was proposed as a member of the League of Nations, which recommended that Iraq should give rights to minority groups. However, the British announced their intention to give Iraq independence without guaranteeing the rights of minorities and, in response, Mahmud Barzanji made another attempt to revolt against the Iraqi government and the British. Again, he failed and was expelled to India (Entessar 1992: 50). In October 1932, Iraq's membership of the League of Nations was approved and a formal declaration was issued guaranteeing the rights of minorities. The revolt cost the lives of 6,000 Iraqis and 500 British (Tripp 2000:44).

To conclude the British did not have any prior plan regarding the present or future of Iraq (Tripp 2000) and all the decisions taken indicated that they did not want to establish democracy. The failure of the Kurdish revolt did not stop fighting against the Iraqi government and the British presence in the country. This continued opposition led to many changes of government. The Kurds were consistently promised their rights but these promises consistently failed; if the Kurds were promised independence when the Iraqi government was weak, the government would break their promise when they became strong. The Kurds never wanted to be controlled by Baghdad or the British and continually fought for their rights and revolted against the British. In response, the British used violent means to subdue the Kurds, including the use of chemical weapons (Anderson and Stansfield 2004:23). Furthermore, as an RAF officer stated: "If the Kurds hadn't learned by our example to behave themselves in a civilized way then we had to spank their bottoms. This was done by bombs and guns" (Anderson and Stansfield 2004:24). This period of misleading the Kurds had a great impact on the people of Kurdistan as peace cannot be built on mistrust.

4.3 The Hashemite Royal Family Rule (1933 - 1958)

As described above, the British facilitated the handing over of power to King Faisal being concerned to maintain his power because of his loyalty to the British, especially in fighting the Ottoman Empire in Syria. This period is characterized by political unrest and the resentment of the Iraqi people: of the Shiia because of their marginalization from power and of the Yezidis and Assyrians because of the massacres of their people. In addition, Iraq had to concede territories to Iran according to the Treaty signed in 1937. These events further galvanized the Iraqis and many political parties were organized, such as the Ikha Party, which was opposed to the signing of the Iraq-Iran Treaty of Territories (Entessar 1992:79). These incidents paved the way to changing the government and led to more political reforms including free elections, freedom of press, and tax reductions.

During this time, pan-Arab nationalism increased in the Middle East. This aimed at uniting the Iraqi territories, and also depriving the Kurds of their chances of achieving self-rule; followed by the Iraqi government introducing conscription and compulsory military training in schools. Consequently, opposition in the Iraqi government toward Kurdish demands increased. This led to unrest and revolts on the part of the Kurds, which were suppressed by the government.

In this period, the political development of Kurds became more organized. In 1939, the Kurdish nationalist organization, Hiwa³² was formed. In 1943, a Kurdish nationalist leader, Mulla Mustafa Barzani,³³ engaged in negotiation with Nuri Said, the Iraqi Prime Minister. Barzani demanded an amnesty for himself and his extended family, the amelioration of the economic situation in the villages under his protection, and self-rule for Kurdish districts. Said accepted the demands. However, when he resigned in 1944 his successor rejected them and avoided resolving the Kurdish issue (Entessar 1992: 55). Following this, Barzani founded alliances between Kurdish tribes who revolted against the Iraqi government. Barzani was defeated and fled to Iran in 1945 where he became an influential leader in the short-lived autonomous Kurdish republic of Mahabad (McDowall 2000). In 1946, the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) was formed under his leadership; however, the Shah's government reoccupied Mahabad and Barzani fled to the Soviet Union. In 1948, Iraq signed the treaty that agreed to the withdrawal of British troops from

³² Translated as 'hope' in English.

³³ Mistefa Barzanî (March 14, 1903 – March 1, 1979) also known as Mullah Mustafa is the most famous political Kurdish nationalist and spiritual leader; he was chosen to lead the Kurdistan Democratic Party. He led the Kurdish revolts against Iraqi regimes until he died in 1979.

Iraq and in 1958 a coup d'état ended the Royal Hashemite rule in Iraq and established an independent Iraqi state.

4.4 The First Fully Independent Iraqi State (1958-1968)

While Iraq first emerged as a fully independent state during this period, it was characterized by continual changes in government. Kurdish support was an important factor in these changes due to their hope that new leaders might give Kurds their rights. Since the Iraqi state was very weak following the withdrawal of the British troops, Barzani had supported the "Free Officers" in the coup d'état (1958) helping Iraq to become a republic. However, it proved to be little different to the previous governments in that they promised Kurdish independence then failed to honour the promises. Barzani made great efforts to resolve the issue peacefully; he got the support of the Soviet Union, then friends with Iraq, for Kurdistan autonomy but without success. Tripp (2007:148) argues that the Iraq government had "no intention of granting the Kurds the institutional autonomy that would have satisfied the KDP". Iraq supported Barzani's rival tribes and consequently fighting broke out between Barzani and these government-supported tribes. The government forces then bombarded Kurdish villages and defeated Barzani.

Barzani became disillusioned with trying to cooperate with the government and decided that the only way to get Kurdish rights was by changing the regime (Tripp 2000:168). Consequently, in 1963, when the pan-Arab socialist nationalist Ba'ath Party, took power, albeit briefly, through a coup d'état, Barzani declared a ceasefire with the new Iraqi government and entered into negotiations with Baghdad. As with previous governments they made promises which they reneged on once they were established. Thus, they initially agreed to appoint two Kurds to the government Cabinet, lift the economic blockade on northern Kurdistan and withdraw Iraqi forces from Kurdistan; but these were subsequently refused. Consequently, conflict broke out with Barzani once more fighting against the Iraqi government forces.

In 1966, Barzani's followers had a significant victory over the Iraqi army, which led the Iraqi Prime Minister to publicly promise full representation and self-government within the framework of democracy in Iraq. Barzani accepted the offer. However, the Iraqi government was concerned that the agreement would provide justification for cutting the military budget (Tripp 2000:187) and negotiations with Barzani were broken off.

Like Iraq, Iran also used the Kurdish people as a means of serving their own objectives. In 1961, when relations between Iran and Iraq deteriorated because Iraq violated the Baghdad Pact,³⁴ Iran supported the Kurds by supplying them with weapons to fight the Iraqi government. Then, in secret negotiations, Iraq offered Barzani Kurdish rights within a unified Iraq, release of prisoners and reinstatement of Kurdish administration. Barzani made the deal without consulting the politburo of the KDP and this resulted in tension within the party. Possibly Iraq made these secret negotiations purposely to undermine Kurdish unity (McDowall 1996).

The period was characterised by lack of unity among Kurds, and the Iraqi government making use of the tribal rivalry. It was also characterized by lack of intentions on the part of all the Iraqi governments to give Kurds their rights with little effort being put into negotiations to enable compromise or concede goals; both parties being obstinate in their demands.

4.5 The Republic of Iraq under Ba'ath Party Rule (1968 -1988)

Following another coup d'état in 1968, the Ba'ath party took power. In principle, it was not extremist in its attitude toward Kurdish rights, as indicated by the following statement by its founder, Michel Aflaq:

"When we call for economic equality and the offering of equal opportunity, we mean that we have delivered the nation's cause to its true owners, the people. They are in fact one with no distinction between Muslim and Christian, Arab or Kurd or Berber....What does the Kurdish sector of the people want, and to what do they aspire (except for some leaders who have feudal interests) other than to live a happy and dignified life where they receive what others receive and give what others give. These individuals do not want more than what the Arabs want for themselves."

(Aflaq, cited in McDowall 1996:324).

Furthermore, Aflaq stated elsewhere "that the party has no objection to the right of the Kurds to some kind of autonomy" (Aflaq cited in McDowall 1996:326).

³⁴ The Baghdad Pact (1955-1979) was a mutual treaty of cooperation, protection and non-interference in each other affairs between Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey, and the United Kingdom. The pact was known also as CENTO (Central Eastern Treaty Organization). The goal was to protect the Middle East from Soviet Union (USSR) expansion.

However, there was a dilemma in the government's position due to the increase in pan-Arab nationalistic ideology within the Iraqi government, which asserted that giving Kurds autonomy would undermine Iraqi security. Consequently, it rejected Kurdish rights on the grounds that the Kurds were agents of the US, Iran and Israel, because these countries supported the Kurds. They especially did not want to give Kurds control of the border areas with Iran. Barzani undertook negotiations with the government, despite the fact that he believed that Saddam Hussein,³⁵ who was vice-president at that time, intended to reject their demands, as he hoped that the government might be swayed by strength of the Kurdish public opinion (Bulloch and Morris 1993:130). During this period, there were several attempts to assassinate Barzani that failed but which made him more aware of the Ba'athist's intentions. This might have been what led Barzani to state in the Washington Post in 1973 that: "We are ready to act according to US policy if the US will protect us from the wolves. In the event of sufficient support we should be able to control the Kirkuk oilfields and confer exploitation rights on an American company" (cited in McDowall 1996:333). The key contested issues were the oil revenues from Kirkuk and a separate Kurdish army force; these were rejected repeatedly by the Iraqi government. Another influential factor was that the Ba'athist government was weak at that time having recently taken power, thus they wanted to neutralize the Kurdish threat (McDowall 2004:324).

Perhaps the government knew that they could not resolve the Kurdish issue by force and this led Saddam to go to Kurdistan and negotiate with Barzani. The outcome was the important declaration in March, 1970. Because, the government knew that Kurds would not accept any solution without including Kirkuk, they started an ethnic cleansing policy that involved "arabizing" the oil producing areas by bringing in Arabs from the south and evicting Kurds to Sulaimaniyah (Stansfield 2003:75).

McDowall (1996:344) emphasises that the division amongst Kurdish leaders played an important factor in the failure of Kurdish struggle for autonomy/independence. The usual Iraqi policy of divide and rule was prevalent throughout their history and the Kurdish opposition to Iraqi government remained divided until early 1980. A root cause of this was that Barzani did not consult other KDP members, such as Talabani (McDowall 1996:315). Each Iraqi government used this division to weaken KDP.

Furthermore, the Barzani revolts over-relied on external powers and these also used the Kurds for their own benefits. In 1975, Iraq and Iran signed the Algiers Peace

³⁵ Saddam Hussein ruled Iraq from 1979-2003

Agreement³⁶ whereby Iran ended its support to Barzani. Meanwhile, relations between Barzani and Talabani deteriorated. This led Talabani to form new political party called the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK).

When the Iran-Iraq war started in 1980, Iran resumed its support for the Kurds and reconciled the two Kurdish parties. In 1985, they made an alliance and collaborated together to fight the Iraqi government, which was having difficulties fighting on two fronts and by 1987 was tired of the war, having lost the Fawo area to Iran. As the Kurds in the north were making progress, Saddam appointed Ali Hassan Majid (nicknamed Chemical Ali) regional commander and gave him full authority in the Iraqi Kurdish regions. Majid used this to inflict genocide on the Kurdish people that entrenched Kurdish resentment, as described below. Moreover, under his command, Kurdish forces were established to fight the KDP and PUK forces, although Kurds were supposed to have the privilege of not serving in Iraq army.

The end of Iraq-Iran war in 1988 gave Iraqi government the opportunities and resources to keep control of the Kurdish population. The tensions between them were again manipulated by the Iraqi regime to further punish the Kurds as the government claimed that Kurds helped Iranian troops penetrate Iraqi borders in IK.

4.5.1 The Genocide (1988)

With Iran's defeat in 1988, the Iraqi government wanted to use its regained strength against its own people. Therefore, they launched the Al-Anfal military campaign on the Kurds (Cordesman and Hashim, 1997:71-75; Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett, 1990:79-82). This provided "Chemical Ali" with the full authority to annihilate the Kurdish people. He captured and executed many Kurds, destroyed their villages, and transferred many to collective tent camps (*mujamatts*). Within a very short time, he had launched six offensive operations that resulted in 4,000 Kurdish villages being destroyed completely. He used chemical weapons on 16 March, 1988. Approximately 5,000 civilians died and it is considered one of the most devastating uses of unconventional weapons against a civilian population since WWII (Anderson and Stansfield 2004: 169).

³⁶ The Algiers Agreement was signed on 6th March, 1975 between the Shah of Iran and Saddam Hussein, vice president of Iraq at the time. Iraq agreed to concede territories of Shat Alarab (Thalweg Line) and Iran agreed to end their support to Kurds.

4.5.2 The Aftermath of the Iraq-Iran War (1998 -2003)

After the war, the Ba'ath Party faced economic crisis with foreign debt estimated at around \$100 billion, and a further estimated \$200 billion needed for repairing the damage to the infrastructure (Anderson and Stansfield 2003:84). In addition, Iraq had millions of military personnel who were now unemployed and in need of work. At the same time no country agreed to rebuild Iraq after eight years of war. Iraq consistently asked Kuwait and Saudi Arabia to release Iraq from the \$40 billion debt accrued during the war. Instead, they demanded that Iraq must repay them. Moreover, Iraq had heard from America that they would not intervene if Iraq attacked its neighbours (McDowall 2000:369).

Consequently, Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990. The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) imposed economic sanctions³⁷ against Iraq and asked Iraq to withdraw unconditionally, threatening that, if Iraq did not comply, the UNSC would authorize the use of military force. Consequently, the US and its allies sent their troops and forced Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait.

In March 1991, uprisings broke out in the south and north of Iraq, as people mistakenly believed that the US would help them topple the Iraqi regime (Calvocoressi 2001:491, Mirza 2007:17). In the north, millions of Kurds fled to Turkey, who had closed its borders to Kurds, and to Iran, who had opened their borders (Stansfield 2003: 95, McDowall 2004: 373). On April 5th 1991, the UNSC established a no-fly zone for Iraqi flights over Kurdistan territories (McDowall 2004: 374-375). Saddam then made false conciliatory gestures to the Kurdish leader, Talabani, to persuade the international community that Iraq had no problem with Kurds because of the presence of INGO's in Kurdistan (McDowall 2000:384). However, the Kurds came to realize that normalization of relations with Saddam was impossible (McDowall 2004): Iraq had withdrawn all its public administration offices in Kurdistan intending to create chaos. Furthermore, the Iraqi government imposed economic sanctions on Kurdistan on top of the UNSC embargo against Iraq as a whole, and stopped paying the salaries of government employees in Kurdistan (Cordesman and Hashim, 1997; McDowall, 1997, Tripp 2000).

4.5.3 The Emergence of Kurdistan Regional Government

The safe haven zone based on UNSC resolution 688 in 1991 led to the establishment of Kurdish self-rule in the area that approximately matched the boundary of the Kurdish

³⁷ These continued from 1991 till 2003.

regions as defined in 1974 (Tripp 2000:271). The Kurds established a regional legislative assembly and held free elections in 1991. All political parties in Kurdistan participated in these elections to create the Kurdistan National Assembly (KNA). Both PUK and KDP won equal votes and, accordingly, parliamentary seats and ministerial positions were divided between them, with a variety of small parties, Assyrians, Christians and socialists, gaining seats as well. Parties needed 7% of the votes to be elected which meant several small parties were elected and led to power sharing within the KNA.

In the middle and south of Iraq, the economic situation further deteriorated as the government rejected the UNSC resolution allowing Iraq to sell limited oil for food despite the sanctions; later, in 1996, they agreed to this. This resolution allocated 13% of oil-export revenue through the oil-for-food program to the northern governorates, considerably improving living standards there. The economic situation was even worse in Kurdistan as they had had both Saddam's economic embargo and the economic sanctions imposed by the UNSC. Furthermore, neighbouring countries and the Baghdad government were galvanizing resentments between KDP and PUK in order to destabilize the area (Gunter 1992). These factors led to the outbreak of internal conflict between PUK and KDP in December 1993 (Leezenberg 2005, McDowall 2000). In 1996, PUK was expelled from Erbil by the Iraqi government forces, with the help of the KDP. However, in 1998, the Washington Agreement between PUK, KDP and the US marked the end of the internal conflict and started the process of peacebuilding and normalisation of relations.

During the post-September 11 era the nature of war changed, exemplified by the pre-emptive strike under the 'war on terror' slogan. War on Iraq became inevitable assuming Iraq had weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and was harbouring terrorists. The UN Special Commission (UNSCOM) and the International Atomic Energy Agency investigated sites in Iraq in 1998 and 2002, and failed to find any WMD (Graham-Brown and Toensing, 2003). Despite this, and amid massive public opposition, the US and UK launched the second Iraq war on 20 March, 2003 without the support of other EU countries. The Kurds played an important role with 80, 000 peshmergah in the north of Iraq, especially important since Turkey rejected a US request to use Turkish territory as a military base (Stansfield 2004: 183). The peshmergah liberated Mosul and Kirkuk within a short time and the US declared the end to the war on 1st May, 2003; however, it turned into a protracted social conflict (Yildiz, 2004).

The outcome of the war led to the toppling of the Ba'athist regime, and to the creation of a government based on sharing power; a government that, for the first time in

Iraq had majority rule (Shiia) and a Kurdish Iraqi president, Jalal Talabani (the PUK leader). Consequently, the new and old tensions relating to ethnic cleansing and the consequences of the patronage system of the Iraqi government came to the fore.

4.6 The Aftermath of the Iraqi Regime Change (2003-2010)

The KRG was founded on the basis of inclusion of all political parties in IK and both major parties utilised this opportunity to present to the international community a unified government able to govern. Moreover, de-Ba'athification³⁸ in 2004 provided more opportunities for experienced Kurds and Shiia to hold positions in the Iraqi government.

In January 2005, both the KDP and PUK elected Barzani for presidency of the KRG, whilst Talabani was elected President of Iraq. The United Iraqi Alliance (UIA) took half the seats in the Iraqi National Assembly but needed a partner to form the government. In this election, the Kurds were represented as a united bloc as the Kurdistan Alliance (KA) and won 26% of the vote and thus played the role of kingmaker in Iraqi politics. They reached an agreement with the UIA by which, in return for their support, the KA was given decision-making roles with Talabani being appointed president and other Kurds Minister for Foreign Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister. Following this, in October 2005, the acceptance by referendum of the final Constitution of Iraq led to the recognition of the KRG as a separate entity by giving IK federal status. It approved all laws made by the KRG that did not contradict the Iraqi Constitution and defined the power each region held. It stated that Kurdistan had the right to draft its own constitution and exercise executive, legislative and judicial power in accordance with the Constitution. It also allocated 17 percent of Iraqi oil revenues to the KRG. In January 2006, PUK and KDP agreed unity government in Kurdistan. Thus, IK now has a Kurdish government, with a certain amount of autonomy and unification; however, there are still numerous problems to be overcome to bring about peace in the area as discussed below.

³⁸ This involved the disbanding of the ex-Ba'athist Party members and militia.

4.7 Obstacles to Peacebuilding in Iraqi Kurdistan

4.7.1 The recent situation in Iraq (2003-2013)

The common resolution of differences and internal conflicts in heterogeneous societies such as Iraq is power sharing and consensus democracy. However, as Seaver states, “power sharing devices have not consistently prevented [internal] conflicts, or yielded peace and stable democracy”. For example, power sharing in Lebanon led to 20 years of conflict (Seaver 2000:254). The power sharing systems in Iraq were imposed by the US aiming to spread peace and stability in Iraq. For the Kurds and the Shiia it guaranteed their rights, however, it deprived the Sunni minority from their accustomed dominance of Iraq.

Although the Iraqi government, the US and neighbouring states believed a united Iraq would be strong and fair, the reality may indicate the opposite. The unification of Iraq has deprived many Iraqis from basic rights such as fair participation in the government and increased the demand for a federal system.

Politics in Iraq is based on religion and ethnicity and each political elite works to service its own group, which reflects the conflict between and among Shiias, Sunnis, Arabs, and Kurds. These are old differences based on each sect and ethnic resentments that become exacerbated when any group gains power. The internal division also reflects their regional power-backing; the Shiia are backed externally by Iran and the Sunnis by Saudi Arabia and Qatar. The conflict relates to ethnic divisions, territories and resources, with each party wanting everything whilst being open to bargaining, making resolution difficult. Thus, Iraq is divided ethnically and geographically.

Furthermore, the army is based on ethnicity. For example, Galbraith states that, in 2006 the Iraqi army constituted 115 army battalions: 60 Shiite, deployed in southern Iraq; 45 Sunni, guarding the Sunni governorates; and nine peshmergah stationed in Kurdistan (Galbraith 2006:186). In Iraq, each political party has its own militias, most of them following its external agenda, depending on where they get their support. In general, there is a patriarchal culture where people keep weapons at home for defence and as a sign of manhood. Moreover, there is a high level of unemployment and being a police officer or military personnel is one of the few and the easiest jobs available. Thus, it is a culture of militarism; any outbreak of violence might spread all over Iraq. Furthermore, as millions of ex-military cannot be integrated into civil society without support, the dissolution of the Iraqi army, which was among the first decrees overseen by the US in 2003, brought further problems; especially after three decades of military rule.

Building peace in Iraq will require reconciliation both between groups and within each group. To have positive peace, with stability and prosperity in Kurdistan, a complete unification between the two ruling parties needs to be made. Despite the great improvement in the normalization and unification of the KDP and PUK over recent years, there is still a lot to be done. Since the KRG started in 2006 with the unification of the Kurdistan National Assembly, the most important ministries that are not yet unified are the finance, interior, and peshmergah ministries. As Gareth Stansfield points out,

“[t]he vestiges of two de facto Kurdish states are numerous, leading to several structural problems that [the Kurds] need to manage by a process of extensive reform. These include a grossly overstaffed civil service, conflicting legislation in key areas such as personal status laws and foreign investment codes, and different cultural practices between civil servants from Irbil and Sulaimaniyah” (Stansfield 2006:3).

Unifying the two ministries of finance is very important as the revenue from the Iraq government is split between the two parties. While scholars recognise the difficulties of merging the two ministries, they argue that division is the only alternative (Stansfield 2003).

Corruption is widespread in Kurdistan in all spheres of life (Donovan 2006; Rubin 2008). The structure of Iraq society facilitates the existence of corruption and injustice, through tribalism, militarism, and patriarchy. Scholars, such as Sailer (2003), emphasise that the effects of nepotism undermine the struggling process of democratization in the Islamic world, specifically in Iraq. In addition, clan affiliations and tribalism strengthen nepotism, favouritism and corruption.

However, there are signs of dissatisfaction and resistance; the protests in Sulaimaniyah in 2011 that lasted more than two months were evidence of people's consciousness and struggle for social justice.

4.7.2 Contested Issues between the Baghdad Government and Erbil Government.

The Peshmergah Issue

The KRG has excessive numbers of peshmergah, although sources mention differing numbers. The agreed plan, in the 2010 Iraqi Status of Forces agreement, was for the Iraqi government to reduce recruiting the number of peshmergah from 190,000 to 100,000, who would be deployed in guarding the Iraqi borders with Turkey, Syria, and Iran, and another 30,000 to be stationed in Kurdistan. All recruited peshmergah would be financed and trained by the Iraqi government and commanded by the KRG (Middle East Report, 2011).

The integration of Kurdish forces into the Iraqi army has advantages for both parties. This may lead to further strengthening the relationship between the two governments. Furthermore, it will benefit the Iraqi government as these peshmergah will be guarding the areas bordering Kurdistan, since having Iraqi Arabs patrolling the area could create problems. In addition, it will reassure the Iraqi government that KRG will not ask for secession. Moreover, it will be good for the KRG as it will remove the heavy burden of financing them.

However, for this to happen, a true unification of the peshmergah needs to be in place. The KRG peshmergah remain answerable to their own political party despite the unification of Ministry of Peshmergah and the Kurdish Constitution's demand for a unified Regional Guard (ostensibly made up of the same peshmergah fighters that fought one another during the Kurdish civil war) to provide internal security for the north (Khalil 2009).

Kirkuk and the other Disputed Areas

"Kirkuk is the Jerusalem of Kurdistan" Jalal Talabani

"Kirkuk is the heart of Kurdistan" Masoud Barzani.

Kirkuk is a past, present and (will be) a future issue if it is not resolved by consensus. It has been one of the most difficult issues to resolve and to find compromises for throughout Iraqi history. The British were reluctant and undecided as to whether they wanted to annex Kirkuk to Iraq until 1926 when they discovered its oil. In 1974, claims to Kirkuk were a main reason for the conflict between the Iraqi government and the Kurds and since the regime change in Iraq there were different attempts to resolve the issue. The Constitution of 2005 promised a referendum in Kirkuk and other disputed territories be held by the end

of 2007. However, the issue is still pending partly because the implementation of the article is too complicated. The top US commander in Iraq admitted that the Arab-Kurdish feuds, especially that over the status of Kirkuk, are the “number one driver of instabilities” in the country (Quoted in Carpenter 2009:27). The KRG’s Natural Resources Minister stated that: “local oilfield managers are answerable to the local authorities” (Gunter 2007:49-51).

The main inhabitants comprise Kurds, Arabs and Turkmen. Thus, like Kurdistan itself, there are many different cultural narratives that hinder resolving its status. The Kurds are optimistic about annexing Kirkuk to the KRG, arguing that, in the census of 1957, they constituted the majority of approximately 48 percent (O’Leary and Bateman 2008). Although they were displaced by force under the Ba’ath Party, most have returned to their homeland and the area has traditionally been the place of the Kurds. The Turkmen narrative is that the Mosul wilayat was established in 1869 and was predominantly inhabited by Turkmen.³⁹ Turkmen are an ethnic minority, the majority of which live in Kirkuk. Traditionally, they have Turkish support and they also have the support of the Iraqi government as both are Shiia and fear that the Kurds will violate the Turkmen’s rights. The Arab narrative asserts that the area has been mixed for a long time and so it needs to be ruled by the Iraqi government. Consequently, they have support from the Iraqi government, and both Shiia and Sunnis, because they do not want the area to be ruled by Kurds, an aversion they share with the Turkmen. The Iraqi government, for their part, do not want the Kurds to rule Kirkuk as they believe that the concomitant economic strength would give Kurds a motive to ask for secession. In light of this, they kept postponing the census as they knew this would give the Kurds a rationale for annexing the area.

External actors also play an important role. Turkey is concerned about the status of Turkmen and the influence Kurdish independence may have on Kurds in Turkey, who constitute 20 percent of Turkish population. The same scenario applies to Syria and Iran as they also have many Kurdish inhabitants but they left it to Turkey to deal with. Meanwhile, US policy in relation to Kirkuk is concerned about preserving relations with Turkey (Rafaat 2007).

In 2009, the UN Assistance Mission for Iraq offered three options for resolving the Kirkuk problem. The first was for the Iraqi government, the KRG and the Turkmen to

³⁹ Turkmen, who identify themselves as a group that arrived during Seljuk times (1535-1918), formed the Turkmen dynasties that dominated the area in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and served as soldiers and administrators during the Ottoman period (ICG 2006).

share power equally, instead of accepting the result from public votes. The second was for Kirkuk to have special autonomous status and be ruled neither by the KRG nor the Iraqi government. The third was for the area to be a province under the control of Baghdad (Wolf 2010). The Kurds rejected all the proposals.

Furthermore, the Iraq government became frustrated with the unilateralism of the KRG in making decisions without referring to the central government, interpreting it as a desire to secede from Iraq. It also feels pressured by the Sunni majority, the Shiia, the Arabs and the Turkmen living in Kirkuk to exert its power over the KRG. Therefore, it is politically important for Baghdad to demonstrate its strength by reducing the authority of the KRG. Moreover, the KRG, being currently in control of many of the disputed areas, has made contracts with foreign companies to work the oilfields there, contracts which the Baghdad government claims are illegitimate.

Oil Contracts

To boost the economy, the Kurds made contracts with foreign companies without informing the Baghdad government. In response, the Baghdad government called on the KRG to terminate them and have all oil contracts dealt with by Baghdad. The Kurds rejected this on the grounds it would be the return to Saddam's law and, according to the Constitution, it is an internal IK issue. Barzani stated:

“If any regional country, or even Baghdad, interferes in an internal matter, and individuals inside the region conspire against the region's security and well-being, actions will be taken in accordance with the law against those who want to undermine the unity of the Kurdish house” (Quoted in Carpenter 2009 :28).

However, the Iraqi Constitution, Article 112, states:

"The federal government ... shall undertake the management of oil and gas extracted from present fields, provided that it distributes its revenues in a fair manner in proportion to the population distribution in all parts of the country, specifying an allotment for a specified period for the damaged regions which were unjustly deprived of them by the former regime, and the regions that were damaged afterwards in a way that ensures balanced development in different areas of the country" (Constitution of Iraq 2005)

As mentioned earlier, the obscurity of some articles of the Constitution left space for manoeuvring. As Kane has notes, with the introduction of this article the Kurds were successful in “creating a constitutional framework for Iraq where the main question was not what control regions should have over oil, but rather what role was left for the national government” (Kane 2010:6). However, the Iraqi Constitution placed both drilling and exporting oil and gas under the control of the central government, with the resources belonging to all Iraqis. Despite this, the KRG signed contracts with 40 foreign companies but, in 2008, when it built a new refinery, it agreed that the central government could export the oil through a national pipeline and the revenue could go to the central government to be shared among all Iraqi people. However, the Iraqi government did not pay the oil production companies and so the KRG suspended selling the oil.

Constitutional Change

The draft of the Iraqi Constitution was written during the development of the Transitional Administrative Law in 2004 and passed by referendum in 2005. The Kurds and the Shiia played an important role in the process - the Kurds because they were America`s allies and Shiia because they were the majority. There was little Sunni presence as they resented their loss of status as major players in government and had withdrawn from politics, boycotting voting in the Constitution and the 2005 Iraqi election.

The KA and Islamic Supreme Council of Iraq support the Constitution, arguing that it is non-negotiable because Shiia also participated in its making (Stansfield 2013). However, the majority of Sunni and many Shiia support changing the Constitution on the grounds that it was written in an inappropriate timescale and contains many vague issues. When it was drawn up, Iraq was under occupation and transitional administrative law was in force. Consequently, there was an absence of Sunni components in the voting and there are many vague constitutional articles that need better explanation (Sulyman 2005, Alfaiad 2005).

In summary, despite the importance of the Iraqi Constitution for organising the relationships between religions, ethnic minorities and the state, many areas are still vague enabling different interpretations and conflict.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter provided a brief history of Iraq and the Kurdish people and their struggle for independence. It also outlined the different ethnic religions and the power relations between them; Kurdish society is a tribal traditional society, conservative and hierarchical.

Currently, however, IK has great political influence on the success of the Iraqi political process, but the tension and break up of relations between Baghdad and Erbil do not benefit this. The Kurds have the most advanced military personnel, who are loyal to KDP and PUK. The Kurds are now united in their dealings with Baghdad, and hold two important positions in the Iraqi government: the presidency and foreign affairs minister. They also play an important role in reconciling disputant parties in the Iraq government.

Overall, the instability in Iraq and the weakness of the Iraqi government has helped the Kurds to further their demands facilitating a power shift in relations between IK and Baghdad. However, there are many fronts that the Kurds need to take into consideration. In particular, they need to improve internal relations between PUK and the KDP, and so far they are moving in the right direction. They also need to be aware of the interests of external actors, especially Turkey and Iran, with whom the KRG has a lot of trade.

Thus, although IK now has some political power, it has experienced instability and conflict for generations and consequently decision-makers and teachers have experienced the oppressive system of the Baghdad government for generations. In this respect, education, HRE in particular, is fundamental to change. It is also a function of the socio-political situation and consequently the next chapter provides a background of the IK education system in relation to the changing political systems.

Chapter Five: Background to the Educational System in Iraqi Kurdistan

This item has been removed due to 3rd party copyright. The unabridged version of the thesis can be viewed in the Lanchester Library Coventry University.

Henry Peter Brougham (quoted in Wang 2005:28).

5.0 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the education system in Iraq, in general, and in Iraqi Kurdistan, in particular. It considers how the contents of textbooks were changed in response to the changing socio-political context of Iraq and the relationship between the Iraqi government and the Kurdistan government, discussed in the previous chapter. It demonstrates that the contents of the curricula reflecting pan-Arab nationalist political tendencies date back to the rule of Sati al-Hursi⁴⁰ in the 1920s and remained largely unchanged till the Ba'ath Party took control in 1979 (Tikriti 2010, Bashkin 2009). Following this, the chapter explores how, while IK self-rule brought many possibilities of changes, it also met with many constraints due to the entrenched education system and economic and political issues, not least of which were the double embargo and internal conflict, described in Chapter 4. This chapter makes clear that just as Iraq has never had equality, non-discrimination and equal representation of the different ethnic groups, these issues were also inherent in the education system.

After explaining the educational system of the Ottoman Empire up to the aftermath of the war in 2003, this chapter focuses on the period of the Ba'ath Party rule as the last, and longest, period of government rule in Iraq before the US invasion; one that produced an overtly political education system. It then explores the educational system after the invasion and the challenges that the Iraqi government faced at the time in developing it. Throughout, there is emphasis on the educational situation of Iraqi Kurdistan and, in particular, on the challenges that faced the KRG in developing the education system after self-rule in the 1990s. Lastly, the study gives an overview of the current education situation in Iraq and IK and the current challenges.

⁴⁰ Sati al-Husri (1879-1967) was born in Yemen and became a prominent Ottoman Syrian writer and influential Arab nationalist of the 20th century. He served as Director General of Education in Iraq (1921-1930). In addition, he held the post of Head of the Higher Teacher Training College until 1937. In 1943, he moved to Syria and worked in the Syrian education system and later, in 1947, he moved to Cairo and held the position of Cultural Directorate of the League of Arab States. He returned to Baghdad in 1965.

5.1 The Iraqi Educational System from the Ottoman Empire to the Hashemite Rule (1920-1958)

The history of Iraqi civilisation and education can be traced back 7,000 years. Iraq was known as Mesopotamia and was ruled by Nebuchadnezzar and Hammurabi, who codified the law governing life of the citizens. Subsequently, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Mongols, Ottomans and others dominated this area. However, Iraq had a great history of mathematical and literary achievement: the Sumerians (early inhabitants of Iraq) were the first in the world to divide the circle into 360 degrees and invented the Cuneiform, the first system of writing. Moreover, Iraq had great knowledge of medical science, architecture, and metaphysics.⁴¹

However, since the formation of the Iraq state in 1921 the system started to decline and become a vehicle for indoctrination by the ruling government (Anderson and Stansfield 2004). It was manipulated by the Ottomans to control Iraq and prevent others from controlling the country, and to preserve the status quo and enhance the expansion of the Ottoman Empire. During this time, Iraqis were deprived of education in schools, being restricted instead to education in mosque schools where the only subject studied was the religion of Islam and the Arabic language; any other subject was excluded due to the potential for contradiction of Islamic studies (Makdisi 1981). However, the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in WW1 changed the political structure of the Middle East, which was divided among the victorious countries. Thus, from 1920, Iraq was under the British Mandate.

The political structure of Iraq was very rigid and the British wanted to repair the devastation left by the Ottoman Empire and secularise the Iraqi education system. In attempting to achieve this, the British were faced with the double challenge of changing the education system and convincing Iraqi parents to send their children to schools that many had negative ideas about. This may have been the incentive that led the British to compromise by changing the focus of the curricula to Arab culture rather than Islamic studies as Iraqis were very attached to Arab cultural traditions.

⁴¹ For more information, see A.K. Pasha, (2003) *Iraq: Sanctions and Wars*, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi. See also Tareq Ismael and William W. Haddad (eds) (2004) *Iraq: The Human Cost of History*, Pluto Press, London.

The Iraqi education system during the British Mandate developed slowly due to the economic and political instabilities. The British established a new education system and founded several schools. At the beginning of the British Mandate, people were reluctant to send their children to schools; they believed that schools taught students to be atheists. Although, their beliefs about schools have gradually changed (Alwardi 2007),⁴² the extreme attachment of Iraqi Arabs to their culture, combined with the economic situation, restricted and undermined the British interest in developing the education system. Moreover, because Iraq was colonized, state educators wanted to incorporate ideas about Arab nationalism into the education policy (Dawisha 2009: 80, Roy 1993:167), which meant denial and marginalisation of the cultures and languages of Iraqi minorities, such as Kurds, Shiia, Assyrian, and Turkmen. Kamel al-Chaderji, a Sunni, explained “No Shiite was accepted in the military college in the bureaucracy, except in the very rare occasion. There were all kind of hurdles preventing Shiites from even join high schools" (Quoted in Dawisha 2010:244). Kurds were in a similar situation and this led them to demand the decentralisation of their education system in Kurdish areas, which was rejected and suppressed by force as discussed in the previous chapter.

During the rule of the Hashemite royal family, the Iraqi educational system remained the same with little improvement, as Iraq stayed weak economically, being under the control of the British. However, the numbers of schools increased. In 1920-1921, Iraq had 88 primary schools and 3 secondary schools; in 1930-1931 the number of primary schools rose to 316 and secondary schools to 19, and in 1944-1945 there were 878 primary and 71 secondary schools (Bashkin 2009:230). In addition, the Iraqi people were fighting the Hashemite government which retained power for a long time. Thus, the vision of the state till 1950s related directly to the interests of the state: Sunni Islamisation, Arabisation and the militarisation of education (Hemphill, 1979: 93).

Moreover, the educational system was under the management and control of Arab nationalist ideologues, such as Sati al-Husri, Fadhil al-Jamali and Sami Shawkat. They all served as Director-Generals of the ME in the 1920s and 1930s and endeavoured to imbue a new generation of educated Iraqis with pan-Arabic ideology (Sluglett 1976: 285).⁴³

⁴² Ali Awaridi is a well-known Iraqi sociologist who has written what many consider to be the definitive books on the history of Iraq and the psychology of its inhabitants. He mentions this change in belief in his book about the psychology of Iraqi society.

⁴³ For more information about the influence of Hursi's education policy, see Orit Bashkin (2009), *The other Iraq: Pluralism and culture in Hashemite Iraq*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Dawisha explains that al-Husri “imported young Arab intellectuals from Palestine and Syria who were committed and vocal Arab nationalists” (Dawisha 2009:85).

There were also clashes of interest among decision-makers in the education system during this period, ones that continue in the present day. While some educators, like Hursi, wanted secularization and modernization of the education system, these initiatives were opposed by Shiia because they were seen as anti-Shiia, therefore, they resisted the formation of religious schools (Bashkin 2009:231). On the other hand, Shawkat advocated the martyr’s struggle for the sake of the nation and, consequently, the Islamisation of the education system.⁴⁴ There were also disagreements over political control and methods of teaching (Simon 2004:69) as both Shiia and Sunni controlled the education system. Thus, if the director general was Sunni, the ME minister would be Shiia and vice versa. Therefore, the disagreements concerned which parts of Islamic history should be incorporated in the education system. For example, to increase the Iraqi sense of nationalism and Arabism, Shawkat incorporated the period of Arab Islamic control and prosperity into the curriculum (known as *Futuhāt* in Arabic).⁴⁵ But this was of concern for the Shiia, as it is now, because the history of this period refers to heroes of Umayyad and others which are depicted in a very negative way in Shiia history (Bashkin 2006:355). Thus, these kinds of issues that still exist in the KRG were divisive and have contributed to the Shiia -Sunni division over generations.

The education system focused on individual military chivalry and Islamic spirit. Secondary school students completed a curriculum of military training for the infantry and cavalry and the use of small arms (Hussain 1982) and students were classified by their military position and wore chevrons and badges to show this. Service in the military was regarded as the fulfilment of a religious duty (Hemphill 1979: 99). War values were represented in the school policy and the attitudes of decision-makers; for example, Shawkat, a minister for education in 1939 and 1940 made the following statement in a speech to students:

⁴⁴ Shawkat Sami served as General Director of Education from (1931-1933 and 1940-1942) and as Minister of Education in 1940. For more information on this, see Simon (2004), *Iraq between Two World Wars*. New York. Pp.112-114.

⁴⁵ Islamic Futuhāt (Muslim expansion) started after the death of the Prophet in 632 CE. The successive caliphs (632-661CE) launched futuhāt that conquered Syria, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Persia. The successors, the Umayyads (661-750CE), conquered Spain in 710 CE and later invaded the south of France. The second period of Futuhāt started when the Ottoman Turks in 1453 CE conquered Constantinople and continued to conquer places until they besieged Vienna in 1529 CE but failed to occupy it.

"I hereafter shall permit no one to make any propaganda for peace and shall oppose anyone who advocates peace. We want war. We should shed our blood for the sake of Arabism. We should die for our national cause ... It is our duty to perfect the profession of Death, the profession of the army, the sacred military profession" (Shawkat, 1939: 97–98).

Thus, the Iraqi education system in the period 1921-1941 was dominated by nationalist and anti-democratic voices (Bashkin 2009:230). This further increased from 1940 onwards, when the ME introduced after-school military youth organisations (Bashkin 2009:232). The pan-Arab nationalism increased even more after the defeat of Arabs by Israel in 1948. Despite revolts against the Iraqi and British governments, the educational situation of the Kurds did not change before Iraqi self-rule was achieved in 1958.

5.2 The Iraqi Educational System prior to Saddam's Rule (1958-1979)

The first period of Iraqi self-rule, as the Republic of Iraq, was characterised as the greatest period for the development of the educational system in Iraq. Because the country became stronger economically, it increased the budget for the educational sectors and more schools and universities were built. Iraqi students were sent to Europe and America to study and returned to rebuild the country (Alobaidi 2005).⁴⁶ Consequently, from the beginning of 1960 till the end of the seventies, the Iraqi education system was among the best in the Middle East with a high quality of education at all levels. More schools were built, and education was made compulsory in 1970, thus more students enrolled in education; increasing from 43,000 in 1957 to 84,900 in 1963, then to 926,000 in 1965 (Ranjan and Jain 2009). This was further improved in 1972 when Iraq had an economic boom due to its control of oil production.

After the overthrow of the Hashemite family, Iraq's lack of political stability meant that the Kurds were a major threat and so they continually demanded the decentralisation of the educational system. The Iraqi government offered Kurds some aspect of control over their education system and invested more in the development in education Kurdistan. For example, in 1960 the Iraqi government established new educational directorates for Kurdish studies and in 1966 the Kurds were given nominal control over their educational

⁴⁶ Informal conversation with Iraqis living in UK who graduated from UK universities since the seventies.

affairs (Entessar 1994). These improvements further led to the March 1970 agreement of autonomy for Kurds between the KDP and Iraqi government.⁴⁷ The Kurds gained decentralisation of the education system and the Iraqi government established an academy for the study of Kurdish culture and language. This period was considered the most peaceful and prosperous for Iraqi Kurds (Stansfield 2003:42). As a consequence of the 1970 agreement, the Kurdish government introduced new curricula for schools in Kurdistan regions and the Iraqi government built schools in IK, in which the language of study became Kurdish. Thus, as Al- Rubaiy (1972:182) argues, through the history of Iraq, education has never been inclusive as it lacked a clear appreciation of the cultures of non-Arab communities living in Iraq.

However, the decentralisation of the Kurdish education system ended in 1974 due to the conflict between the Iraqi government and the Kurdish leader, Barzani, regarding the delimitation of the autonomous territory as described in the previous chapter, (Stansfield 2003: 44). Consequently, the Iraqi government took back control of Kurdish affairs and reformed the school curricula to erase any indication of Kurdish references. Thus, the Iraqi policy of Kurdish ethnic cleansing started, and schools, cities, and villages were renamed (Entessar 1992:9). The situation of Kurds further deteriorated after the signing of the Algiers Agreement between Iran and Iraq in 1975 which meant further control of Kurdistan by Iraq.⁴⁸

Thus, the period was characterised by rapid improvement in the early sixties and seventies and gradual deterioration in the late seventies and eighties and the political instabilities and changes in government constrained educational development in Iraq. From the time of the establishment of the Kingdom of Iraq till the late seventies, the Iraqi education system was modelled on the British system; and most schools and universities were using the same text books as British schools and universities. The national Baccalaureate examination of Iraq was the same as that used in Britain national exams. Students who were sent to Europe and America to study came back to rebuild the country. However, the educational system of Kurdistan improved little and then deteriorated after

⁴⁷ For more information about the agreement, see David McDowall (1996), *A Modern History of the Kurds*. I.B.Tauris and Co. Ltd. London. pp 327-328.

⁴⁸ The Algiers Agreement between Iraq and Iran was ostensibly intended to settle the border disputes between the two countries over Shatt al-Arab and Khuzestan but the main reason was to end Kurdish rebellion. Iraq conceded these two places to Iran in lieu of Iran ending support for the Kurds. See Chapter 4 for more details.

the Algiers Agreement and the influence of Arab nationalism increased within the government.

5.3 The Iraqi Educational System during Saddam's Rule (1979-2003)

After Saddam took power in 1979, the educational system in Iraq gradually declined both in quality and approach; education became highly politicised, and its sole value and objective was to serve Ba'athist ideologies (Harb 2008, Roy 1993). Bengio (1998) analyses how the Ba'athist government used manipulative language, history, myths, and symbolism to maintain and establish its power.⁴⁹ This is reflected in the educational changes and schools' curricula of the period that were injected with political content aimed at better serving the government (Sassoon 2012:62, Kasey 1983: 94-163). To make this widespread, education continued to be free and compulsory in primary schools.

Thus, one may argue that the Ba'ath government may have made education free and obligatory so as to inculcate the revolutionary and Ba'athist ideologies in people's hearts and minds. Saddam advocated teaching children about the Ba'ath Party and its achievements (Sassoon 2012). It was easy for the government to spread its ideas and brainwash students' minds in schools and through this many people could be indoctrinated to Ba'ath Party mindsets, and thus government causes could be promoted. During the Ba'ath rule it was the first time that literacy increased in Shiia areas. Thus, increased literacy meant that Shiia children and youths could be indoctrinated in schools to be loyal to the Ba'ath Party and to Saddam himself (Anderson and Stansfield 2004:8).

The indoctrination of the education system was inclusive, not only educating young people but also men and women; launching specific literacy campaigns to educate older men and women. During Saddam's rule girls' enrolment increased and women had more employment due to the government laws and regulation regarding favouring this; for example, maternity leave was one year with full salary. However, women were empowered for the sake of government plans and causes. The idea was that while Iraqi women had a strong bond towards family, husband and traditional norms and beliefs, Saddam's regime could liberate them to be more loyal to Ba'ath Party rules, and so

⁴⁹ Bengio's study explains how the Ba'athists used a thorough control of contents to establish its identity and paralyse its enemies. The study analyses Saddam speeches, writings, Iraqi newspapers, party publications and government documents. Bengio argues that the use of large number of terms and how they are twisted was an indicator of political change; for example, stripping terms like 'freedom', 'revolution' and 'Arab unity' of their original meaning and affiliating them with Ba'ath party ideology.

develop a stronger bond toward the government (Anderson and Stansfield 2004). This was to be revolutionised, as Saddam asserted:

“To prevent the father and mother dominating the household with backwardness, we must make the small one radiate internally to expel it . . . The unity of the family must not be based on backward concepts, but on congruence with centralizing mores derived from the policies and traditions of the revolution in its construction of the new society. Whenever there is a conflict between the unity of the family and these mores . . . it must be resolved in favour of the new mores” (al-Khalil 1989).

The whole education system was manipulated and the Saddam personality cult was presented as perfect and absolute. As Sasson explains, "[the commands of the president] became, in the time, almost like those of a prophet or spiritual leader. They permeated every aspect of life and were routinely taught in schools and universities" (Sasson 2012:179). The school textbooks presented Saddam as a unique character and speeches were studied and analysed in schools. The structure of schooling was designed to promulgate his personification, thoughts, attitudes and behaviour. In Islamic studies Saddam was considered the most religious role model and in history he was considered the bravest, strongest person in the world, one who never gave up.

Management of the education system was controlled by the Ba'ath Party and the majority of school teachers were members. It was the teachers' duty to conscript students to the Party; otherwise they would be interrogated. In this way, they were used as the puppets of the government: to spread Ba'ath propaganda; talk about the Ba'ath Party in class; help organize student demonstrations in support of the regime; and to inform parents about Ba'ath Party meetings and updated rules. By being competent in doing this, teachers would get promoted. Furthermore, the politics of the regime concerning education was based on corruption and cronyism. The teachers with a higher rank in the Ba'ath Party had better positions and were more likely to be sent to study abroad on scholarships. The teachers' qualities were measured by teachers' work and loyalty for the Ba'ath Party.

Moreover, the teacher training curricula and teaching methodology were outdated and distorted (UNESCO 2003a, Alwan 2004). The schools' textbooks stayed the same from the eighties till the Ba'ath Party lost power. Teachers and other professionals were banned from attending international seminars or training courses abroad, except those approved by Ba'ath party. Within Iraq, it was virtually impossible to gain access to other

forms of educational material since much of the time Iraq was at war and then there were UN embargoes on importing educational devices, stationery, new books, and journals, as well as censorship of books written by Iraqi scholars.

Neither students nor parents had any say in education: the students were passive listeners who only had to obey orders and their parents had no influence on their education. This was a deliberate policy on the part of the government to ensure they had full control (Wang 2005:30). Furthermore, parents would not have dared to talk freely at home as they were scared that their children may report them to the Ba'ath Party headquarters. Ba'ath Party members questioned children about what was happening at their home; thus they made children be more loyal to the government than to their parents.

The whole school environment was aimed at promoting violence, war values and instilling hatred towards Western people. Organizations were established to train children physically and politically: *Al-talai* (the Vanguard) centres were established for children age 10 to 15, and *Al-ftwai* (Youth) centres were established to train 15 to 20 year olds after school (Sasson 2012). Corporal punishment was allowed, and the curriculum was deprived of ideas and concepts relating to freedom, human rights and democracy; it was more focused on scientific knowledge, engineering, and medicine (Agresto 2004).⁵⁰ Most of the research papers of M.A. and Ph.D. students were about the Ba'ath Party and Saddam's revolutions (Watenpaugh 2003:18-20, Harb 2008:3-4, Al Samaraie 2007:933). Teachers had to reflect Ba'ath Party ideas into every lesson plan otherwise they would be interrogated, and they became so accustomed to Ba'ath methods that even now they find it difficult to change their ways (Wang 2005).

Despite the secular beliefs of the Ba'ath Party they were always led by a worldview that derived from Islamic values and this was reflected in the schools' curricula (Khaizaran 2007). However, as a means to strengthen their position and control of Iraq after the Kurdish uprising in 1991, the government changed the curricula to include more religious diversity than ever before. Tikriti's (2010) analysis of textbooks found that reference to Islam grew and became more noticeable in textbooks published during the 1990s. This culminated in 1994 when the national faith campaign initiated compulsory Islamic courses in schools (Baram 1996).

⁵⁰ Agresto John was senior advisor to the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research in Iraq under Ambassador Paul Bremer during the period 2003-2004. His book gives lessons learned from his time in Iraq and offers a unique perspective on the cultures of Iraq and America.

5.3.1 Kurdish Education during the Ba'ath regime (1979-1991)

As presented above, Kurds in Iraq have a long history and experience of marginalization and denial of their basic right to their own education. Iraqi government policy was to maintain the traditional and hierarchical structure of Kurdish society and Iraqi Kurds lived in villages and remote areas to avoid a lot of confrontation with the regime. Furthermore, the government also wanted them to live in villages to be denied the benefits of modern life and be deprived of government services including good education. Most of the villages did not have schools or health services. The Iraqi government supported the tribal leaders by giving them privileges and power as a way of controlling the Kurdish occupied areas; including giving weapons to many Kurdish tribal leaders to fight the Barzani troops (McDowall 1996:380).

Thus, most people in Kurdistan were illiterate and unaware of the importance of education. People were practicing and transmitting the cultural practices of their ancestors to their children. The schools' instruction and curricula were offered in Arabic language as this was the language of study in Iraq because it was the language of majority of people and, since the inception of the Iraq state, different governments implemented the policy of imposing Arabic as a uniting language of Iraq. People in Kurdistan neither understood Arabic nor were they interested in learning it and wanted to be taught in the Kurdish language. Moreover, most pastoral people managed without education. In addition, there were no other resources that people could get knowledge from as the government had imposed a censorship on books and newspapers and the whole structure of society was manipulated to adhere to the government interests. People who held authoritative positions were members of the Ba'ath Party. Thus, the knowledge that people received through education was biased towards government interests. Most religious people were working for the government as they were scared of losing their jobs. Thus, they were also delivering the government's messages.

The Ba'athist government controlled the villages through their network of agents who reported about the activities of the residents. In the eighties, when the government launched the military campaigns that caused the destruction of villages and burned farms, they displaced thousands of people from villages to cities and installed them in settlements (*mujamats*) that were located near to military bases so as to control them more easily (Aziz 2011). Thus, people brought their mentalities from the villages to the cities. In practice, there was not much difference between living in cities and villages as the repression of

government was very strong in cities. Schools were monitored by Iraqi intelligence, and teachers were very careful about what they taught and how they delivered the lessons.

To sum up, the Kurds did not have opportunities to get educated or develop their educational systems to international standards because the Iraqi government policy was so oppressive. Furthermore, the Iraqi Kurds' education system was part of the Iraqi education system which was highly biased and restricted.

5.3.2 The Status of Education during the Ba'ath Regime (1979-1991)

It is important to change school curricula and that they should never be static but instead be flexible and dynamic. However, the Ba'athist ruling elite treated Iraqi education as a passive transmitter of values and ideas that were to confirm their power and domination. The curricula were static, outdated and indoctrinated to government and Party purposes. Thus, the Iraqi schools' curricula came to a standstill for the whole period of the Saddam rule (1979-2003). The textbooks and the whole school atmosphere were about brainwashing; for example, whenever a teacher entered the classroom, the students stood and chanted "Long Live Saddam". When they sat they chanted "Long Live the Ba'ath Party". The level of indoctrination was so high that children were required to say "Papa Saddam". His portrait was everywhere in schools, in every class, every corner, corridor, and teachers' rooms. His portrait was on the first page of the textbooks to instil fear; he was everywhere, every moment in people's minds.

Thus, the whole school structure was aimed at making students passive listeners. They were taught to be loyal, to love the Ba'ath Party and Saddam and know everything about the Ba'ath Party and Saddam. In English classes students memorized Saddam's speeches in English. In every year students were tested in a nationwide exam. The questions were about Saddam's life and the Ba'ath Party (Lacey 2003). History educational content had a lot to do with wars, conflicts, colonization and dehumanizing enemies and most of it directed towards the enemy of Iraq; the West. For example, the year six textbook stated that "the modern era has witnessed the covetousness of the imperialist states, at the head of them the American, NATO and Zionist forces"(Wang 2005). And there were even elements of dehumanizing the peshmargah, the Kurdish freedom fighters in the mountains. In maths "children [practised] multiplication tables by calculating the casualties count of shooting down four planes with three US pilots in each plane" and in physical education students exercised and recited "Bush, Bush, listen carefully, we all love Saddam"(Wang 2005). In Islamic studies, "they were told of their

leader's devotion"; in computer sciences, students were required to have his portrait as screen savers (Tierney 2003).

The obsessive government involvement and influence in the education sectors and people's lives led many professionals to leave Iraq. Thus, qualified teachers who left the country were replaced by new teachers, and new teachers lacked experience. Consequently, the educational system remained stagnant and stayed that way for three decades.

New teachers had to cope with the situation: with the lack of updating of knowledge relating to teaching methods, and with being trained and taught by biased textbooks and teachers. From my observations, the system was based on threatening and humiliating students to study and to control their behaviour. For example, every Thursday, there was "salute to the flag" hour, where all students gathered in the school arena. Then, "lazy students" were made to go out in the middle of the arena and the other students were told to laugh and chant at them that they are lazy, and they were given a "symbol of laziness" to distinguish them from the other students.⁵¹ This has created a generation deprived of a sense of influence and participation, preferring a defensive position that avoids creative and innovative attitudes.

Iraq education actively contributed to the process of social indoctrination and to prohibiting students from thinking and acting independently. Children learned by rote, by reciting and memorizing Saddam's speeches, by singing songs to praise him and by learning about Ba'ath Party achievements. The students' compositions and essays were about analysing his speeches and about Ba'ath revolutions. Also, it was bereft of concepts such as human rights, change, ecology, conflict, dynamics and anticipation; it focused instead on engineering and sciences to make weapons and build military bases (Agresto 2007).

5.3.3 The IK Educational System during Kurdish Self-Rule (1991-2003)

As mentioned above, up until 1991 the people of Iraqi Kurdistan had been deprived of having an independent, self-ruled education system. Kurds had to learn in Arabic, using textbooks that were exclusive to Arab nationalism, and so they were denied opportunities to learn about their culture and history and, consequently, they had always fought to have separate education that was studied in the Kurdish language. Because their demands were

⁵¹ This is a common feature of schooling in IK.

always rejected and dealt with by force, this was one of the main causes of the extended conflicts between the Kurdish movement and the Iraqi government. As Entessar argues, the uprising of 1943 against Iraq government was specifically a result of the marginalisation of educational demands of the Kurds (Mohajer 1988 cited in Entessar 1992:74).

As described in Chapter 4, the Kurds attained self-rule however, the short period was not free from constraints. The Iraqi Kurds lacked experience in self-ruling. This happened immediately after the no-fly zone imposed by the UN, and the Kurds returned to their homes. The Iraqi government had withdrawn all the government institutions soon after the implementation of no-fly zone.

Years of war and violence had a great impact on children with many becoming orphans and losing family members in the government military campaigns against IK in 1988 and the internal conflict in IK from 1994 to 1998. Thus, many children left school to work and support their families.

Furthermore, the political instabilities, including the continual military interventions from Turkey against the Kurdistan Labour Party (PKK) in the nineties, resulted in many villages being evacuated and people displaced; their schools and farms having been destroyed. Moreover, people felt that Saddam's regime might return despite the no-fly zone imposed by US, as Saddam was still in power in Iraq and people remembered the 1991 bombings and exodus of millions of Kurds to Turkey and Iran.

In addition, political instabilities among Kurdish political parties led to the internal conflict that continued till 1998. Many people were displaced and killed because of the internal fighting. Many children left education because of lack of schools. This also restricted the work of humanitarian NGOs that stayed in Iraqi Kurdistan while many others left the country.

Furthermore, the double economic embargo,⁵² described earlier meant that the economic situation of Kurdistan was very bad. The Iraqi government blocked all the roads to import foods and other essentials to Kurdistan. The economic situation of teachers deteriorated, their salaries were reduced and the price of food and other basic material rose.

⁵² This involved the UN economic sanctions imposed on Iraq from 1990 till 2003 and the economic sanctions imposed by the Iraqi government on IK.

The internal conflicts between the PUK and the KDP brought the political situation to a standstill with little improvement until after 2003. This restricted the mobility of students, teachers between the two separated areas. Thus, IK did not have the opportunities to develop the education system to the extent that they had hoped would be possible through independence. Furthermore, most INGOs left the country because of the fighting and the schools that had been destroyed by the Iraqi government remained rubble.

There were also other constraints such as lack of teaching resources and other school facilities, and lack of human resources such as teachers and other education professionals. Many teachers and other professionals left the IK and were replaced by inexperienced and unqualified teachers. All these incidents hampered the educational reforms in Kurdistan. Hence, the real educational reforms did not start till after the regime change as described in the next section.

5.4 Curriculum Change in Iraq and Iraqi Kurdistan after the Regime Change

After the removal of Saddam in 2003, a new government was elected in Iraq and new curricula were introduced. As Comisso states, subjects that were removed included "Ba'athist ideology, Saddam Hussein's cult of personality, discriminatory statements against ethnic, religious, and other groups of politicized information from the previous regime, [and] references that suggested that inequality of the sexes encouraging violence" (Comisso 2004). The major change was the removal of patriotic education (Tikriti 2010: 353) as this was completely dedicated to disseminating Ba'athist propaganda. Iraq has several different ethnicities and sects, so uniting them requires education that fosters dialogue, reconciliation, respect and representatives of all components of society. Therefore, the new government needed to introduce curricula that reflect diversity and promotes tolerance, forgiveness, coexistence and respects differences.

Although the government and the international NGOs were willing to change the curricula, however, there were constraints facing the government and the INGOs in developing the educational curricula to international standards. There was a lack of schools and resources and qualified teachers. Furthermore, there was insecurity and instability in Iraq. Parents did not dare send their children to school in Baghdad and other areas for fear of killings and kidnappings. There were also threats from insurgents, demanding changes in the curriculum (De Santisteban 2005). Refusing to comply with their demands often led to violence (UNAMI 2010). In light of this, the government

recruited 300,000 guards to protect schools and universities (IRIN 2007). A number of students were killed and between 2003 and 2008 more than 259 teachers and researchers were killed, 72 were kidnapped, and 174 were arrested (O'Malley 2008). There were also disagreements among the government decision-makers due to sectarianism, lack of capacity and experience.⁵³

Thus, against these challenges it is not surprising that no thorough curriculum reform took place following the end of the regime, as evidenced by Rhohde's (2013) analysis of a selection of HE textbooks published in 2005. Prior to 2003 the curricula reflected the Sunni interests and after the regime change it reflected Shiia interests. Having a variety of narratives provided in textbooks would make people more open minded, however, this has been difficult to achieve within the Iraqi context. The Ministry of Education officials and parliamentarians openly acknowledge the 'danger' of having different narratives in the textbooks and consider it unacceptable on the grounds that it might cause conflict to erupt in schools (Institute of War and Peace 2010). And, on examination of the HE textbooks from 1976 to 2010, it is clear that the Kurds or the other ethnic groups such as Turkmen, and Chaldo-Assyrians were not mentioned anywhere in the HE textbooks.⁵⁴ In the updated version, in 2011 to 2013, it only mentions the city of Halabja once, when referring to the "chemical bombardment of the city of Halabja in Iraqi Kurdistan where thousands of Iraqi people became victims".⁵⁵

The lack of security and stability coupled with the weak education system in Iraq has led to an increase in private education. Religious education schools, like *Shiia Hawza* and the tribal *Diwan* that survived Saddam's rule, have also increased and continue to be influential in Iraq today (Hefner and Zaman 2007, Khaizaran 2007:330). However, there are no figures for the number of private schools in Iraq after 2008.

⁵³ For more information, see *Fallen off the Agenda? More and better Aid needed for Iraq Recovery*. Available at <http://reliefweb.int/report/iraq/fallen-agenda-more-and-better-aid-needed-iraq-recovery> [Accessed 15/07/ 2010].

⁵⁴ The textbooks analysed included the following: Iraq Ministry of Education (IR-ME) (2003) *al-Tarikh al-Arabi al-Islami li-l-Saff al-Thani al-Mutawassit* (Arab Islamic History for Second Year (Eighth Grade) of secondary schools). Published in Baghdad. IR-ME (2003) *al-Tarikh al-Hadith wa-al-Muasir li-l-Watan al-Arabi li-l-Saff al-Sadis al-Adabi* (The Modern and Contemporary History of the Arab homeland for Sixth Year (12th Grade), High School). Published in Baghdad. IR-ME (2001), *al-Tarikh al-Kadim li-l-Watan al-Arabi li-l-Saff al-Awwal al-Mutawassit* (The Ancient History of the Arab Homeland for First Year, (Seventh Grade) Secondary School). Published in Baghdad. Iraqi General Directorate of Curriculum of Ministry of Education (IR-GDC ME) (2009) *al-Tarikh al-'Arabi al-Islami li-l-Saff al-Thani al-Mutawassit* (Arab Islamic History for Second Year (Eighth Grade), Middle School). Published in Baghdad.

⁵⁵ IR-GDC ME (2012) *Altarikh alahadith lil watan alarabi* (Modern and Contemporary History of the Arab Homeland for third year (Ninth Grade) of secondary school). Published in Baghdad. Pp.92.

After the fall the regime, when Kurdistan was able to further decentralize the education system, the process of creating an educational system based on new ideas and assumptions became a priority. In the newly established Kurdish region, education was no longer treated as an instrument for promoting the interests of the political elites, but as a progressive force for changing society and a platform for creating a new social awareness. However, the IK people working in planning and designing the education systems inevitably lacked experience and expertise. Those who returned from Iran and Turkey had not been better treated than their counterparts in Iraq, with all Kurds suffering from poor quality and indoctrinating education. IK has suffered from chronic corruption for decades which makes the implementation of change in the education system slow and difficult.

To create real change in the education system, decision makers and ministry officials need to believe in and be skilled in PE to implement changes. They need the training and knowledge of the field.

5.5 The Development of KRG Education System (2003 to 2014)

The high level of violence and lack of security in Iraq, and the relative peace and stability in IK encouraged many US and other INGOs to focus on the area under KRG control. The economic prosperity and relative security encouraged the booming private schools, government investment schools, and universities and many Kurdish scholars returned to IK. INGOs in collaboration with the KRG Ministry of Education set out to reform the schools curricula and new subjects and textbooks were introduced, such as HRE and civic education (CE), with the intention of making the society more conducive to harmonious coexistence.

The KRG adopted the Swedish system of education due to close cooperation with the Swedish government and their funding of the education sector in IK. The KRG introduced international global values by introducing subject such as democracy, civic education and HRE to the students in IK. This cooperation was very useful to the KRG to present an image of modern and liberal government. At the national level this provided an opportunity to introduce concepts about peace and human rights. In addition, following Saddam's defeat, many Kurds returned from Europe with children who needed to continue with good standards of education. Thus, this change in education will lead to more Kurds returning home.

Moreover, because people were not yet in a position to accept the idea of "optionality" and "diversity" of assumptions, values, choices and actions, only education for peace and about peace can foster these attitudes and values. Getting a global education system makes people open-minded as Iraq was isolated from the world. Thus, global standards of education benefit local people by helping them to accept global values and teaching students that they have the right to have different opinions. This is especially important in Kurdistan as there are several different ethnic groups living in the region: Christian, Yezidis, and Turkmen.

Education is essential for the creation of a democratic society. As Basham argues, "political culture shapes democracy far more than democracy shapes political culture" (Basham 2004:1). However, there has been stagnation in the development of education systems in the Arab Muslim countries compared to the West.⁵⁶ Carlos Alberto Torres argued that outsiders have a critical role to transform the education system in the Arab world. He further believes that true freedom cannot be enforced but it has to be something that people admire, appreciate and understand. The people must experience liberalization before they achieve liberation (Harrera and Torres 2006:209). However, one may argue that the US intervention in the Arab world education system and invested \$250 million on civic education programmes and democracy in the Middle East but intervention had little impact (Ottaway, Marina et al 2002:7).

However, the Kurdistan ME's attempts to raise the educational level in schools were not free from constraints. At times local resistance may be the reason for slow changes and at other times the government may lack strategy and expert knowledge. Nevertheless, the ministry banned corporal punishment in 2000, despite criticism from teachers and parents, and other types of violence, such as intimidation, threatening, shouting, and calling bad names, might be considered not recommended but are not banned.

The KRG attaches more importance to the Ministry of Higher Education than to the Ministry of Education. For example, the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research (MHESR) initiated progressive programmes, such as the Human Capacity Development Program to send thousands of researchers and students abroad to finish their education. This is intended to cover the shortage of Kurdish teachers at local universities

⁵⁶ Marwan Muasher, a Jordanian diplomat, wrote about the successes and failures of the Arab world, and the influence of Islam in Marwan Muasher, *The Arab Center: The Promise of Moderation* New Haven: Yale University Press, (2008). Pp.253-256.

and provide professionals for other ministries. However, this type of programme should have covered the school teachers too; for example, by sending them abroad for training or bringing people from abroad to provide teacher training.

These disadvantages are further exacerbated because, while all school education is in Kurdish, reference books are either in Arabic or English and there is a notable lack of Kurdish translations. Moreover, the majority of university teachers in Kurdistan are Arabs from the middle and south of Iraq, and therefore they teach students in Arabic. Thus, it is very difficult for students who understand, read and write only Kurdish when they arrive at university.

Recently, the Ministry of Higher Education has adopted the programme of quality assurance to the universities' education system, despite unwillingness on the part of most of university teachers. Thus, the ministry is aware of the backwardness of the educational level in Kurdistan but again, with the bad education standards that they had in school, it will be difficult to change the quality at university level.

5.6 The Current Status of the Educational System in Iraqi Kurdistan

Textbooks for foundation and preparatory schools in IK have undergone two revisions since the regime change in 2003; the first in 2004 and the second in 2007. Curriculum changes and educational development was very important and positive sign in IK because, as Galtung (1975:319) states, traditional education is often contrary to the ideas of PE, and as such it can actually be harmful. Changing the school curricula is one thing; however, what is important is for the teachers to know how to deliver these new contents since ideally education should teach people how to gain knowledge and make use of it, not simply to assimilate it.

The Ministry of Education distributes books to schools and students get only one book per subject and the majority of foundation schools lack a library. Similarly, in universities, as I have personally experienced, the students get books from the faculty. They get one book per subject, which will be studied the whole year. Standards of literacy are low, as confirmed in research concerning applicants to the University of Kurdistan

Hawler,⁵⁷ which showed that students lacked reading and critical thinking skills. The only students who did not have this problem were those from the diaspora (Whitney 2008).

The KRG is interested in providing neutral and representative education through promoting human rights, democracy and equality of the sexes in its educational aims. According to the law, legislation no. 11, of 1992, which is still in place, a Ministry of Culture will be instituted, its task being to: "Conserve and promote Kurdish cultural originality in a manner in which to promote the ideals of the Kurdistan Liberation Movement and its democratic aims" and to "direct special concern to the cultural education of children"(Stansfield 2003:205-206). The law also gives rights to the other components of societies, and the government has to support and facilitate educational institutions in "making minorities study in their own language at the primary level for those places in which minorities are resident, with the teaching of the Kurdish language being compulsory" (Stansfield 2003:206-207). The KRG has started implementation of these rights according to the law. The "KRG schools educate students in four different languages: Kurdish, Turkmen, Syriac, and Arabic, while in the rest of Iraq, the only language of instruction is Arabic. For this purpose, there are Turkmen schools and Syriac schools, which the KRG fully supplies, just as with the Kurdish-language schools. There are two General Directorates in the Ministry to supervise and manage these schools. One supervises Turkmen education, while the other director-general of Syriac education"(Cited in Rubin 2002).

However, to eliminate prejudice textbooks must represent all ethnic groups' culture and knowledge. Many students do not know about other communities' rituals and practices. Since there are different sects living in Iraqi Kurdistan, teaching students about differences of cultures and people in the society is important to reduce prejudices. There are many practices people do in their own society that they are not aware are taboo for other cultures, and vice versa.

The law also protects religious and moral education, with its observance of the rights of religious minorities (Stansfield 2003:206-207). According to the Ministry, "the government provides texts about Christianity in the Syriac language, and books about the Yezidi religion in Kurdish. This supplementary curriculum is studied across the region and at all educational levels up to the fourth year preparatory class. This encouragement of

⁵⁷ University of Hawler it is an international university based in Erbil. All the teachers and staff have graduated from universities of Europe and America. English is the only language of study.

diversity happens only in the Kurdistan Region, not in the rest of Iraq” (cited in Rubin 2002). However, the researcher found textbooks about Yezidis culture and religion only in Yezidis schools.

As mentioned above, the education system of Iraqi Kurdistan has strong links with the Swedish education system. The primary and intermediate schools were changed to foundation schools in 2007, starting from Year 1 (6 years old) through to Year 9 (15 years old). The ME has built many schools and recruited many teachers but the demand is on increase. The table below show the gaps.

Table 1. Number of schools, students, teachers 1990 and 2012

This item has been removed due to 3rd party copyright. The unabridged version of the thesis can be viewed in the Lanchester Library Coventry University.

(From the ME webpage: <http://moe.krg.org/>)

The number of universities is also on increase: in 1991 there were two universities, one in Erbil and one Sulaimaniyah and there are now 14 KRG sponsored universities and 12 private universities in IK.⁵⁸ Meanwhile, the total population of Iraqi Kurdistan including Kirkuk is approximately 4,218,785 (ME document 2003).

5.7 Challenges facing Educational Development in Iraqi Kurdistan

The social context of Kurdistan society is one of cultural violence and the way children are taught and brought up relies on symbolic violence. As Galtung (1996:196) argues, cultural violence can be identified as an aspect of violence that is intended or unintended, often expressed through religion, art, ideology, empirical and formal science to legitimize the use of direct and indirect violence. This type of violence is an invisible part of the social

⁵⁸ Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research webpage: www.mhesr.org

structure and social institutions, and shapes the morality, the attitudes and the behaviour of people. Kurdistan is a tribal society, as Basham states, “eighteen million (of 25 million) Iraqis belong to tribes whose decision making is dominated by tribal elders” (Basham, 2004: 9). This involves many cultural practices concerning children that constitute cultural violence, such as beating as a way of discipline.

This may have led the KRG to focus most of its attention and investment on the development of higher education and neglect the foundational level. Thus, programmes and conferences are held on how to develop the higher education system in IK, while there are hardly any on how to develop the education at primary level. However, any attempt at developing the educational systems in Kurdistan has to remedy the deep-rooted causes of the problem, not just focusing on the higher education level. The solutions have to start by developing the primary education system first, and not just bringing in new curricula and adopting a Western education system per se. In my research I heard many university teachers criticizing the low educational level of new entry students to the universities.

However, the teachers also lack the necessary qualities, most likely due to the low quality of teacher training in universities and lack of in-service teacher training. The established method (described by Paulo Freire as the banking system) is the prevalent method of teaching in universities in IK.⁵⁹ The teachers at universities need updating on how to teach but most of the teacher trainers are still teaching according to the banking system. The problem is with lack of expertise as, until recently, there are enough teacher trainers for universities and for teachers in schools but the quality of training is very low in terms of teaching participatory methods of teaching. The expertise in IK lies with those who hold good university degrees and most of these professors graduated in the previous regime era so they have a belief in the classical teaching methods.

Another cause of the lack of improvement in the quality of teachers training is that the same curricula is repeated in teacher training and its low quality make the training less challenging and relevant. So teachers find it trivial. There has never been evaluation of the training quality and the same teachers that teach at universities in the hierarchical (banking education) system also train teachers. Thus the teachers that train teachers never had training using new methods of teaching, having been taught prior to the regime change in 2003. I myself participated in one teacher training session at the University of Duhok for

⁵⁹ Paulo Friere’s concept of the banking system uses the metaphor of empty containers to represent students in whom educators deposit knowledge. He considers it to discourage critical thinking and knowledge ownership in students, and so reinforces oppression.

two months as it was obligatory for teachers working for a Masters and aiming to teach at University. The teaching staff, such as professors and assistant professors who held high level degrees, taught the students who were to graduate as teachers. The quality of the training was not beneficial as the theories that they were taught were from the outdated banking education system of education.

To become a teacher, graduate students from the colleges of basic education and the colleges of arts apply to the Ministry of Education to become a teacher, and once recruited, they can start work straight away teaching the foundation and preparatory school level without having prior teacher training or in-service training. Graduate students from the Teachers Institutes are dedicated to teach only the foundation schools while the graduate students from college of teachers can teach the foundation education level and the preparatory level.

Due to the lack of enough qualified teachers the ME recruited graduated students from high schools and institutes to teach students at the foundation school level. Many did not have any teacher training and even if they had, they would have been taught the old methods of teaching. As discussed in detail in Chapter 9, these are not aimed at inspiring inquiring minds. Consequently, students who are motivated get private teachers to teach them the same lectures that they did not understand in schools, as they were unable to ask for clarifications in class. Sometime teachers want students to hire them to get extra money.

Another important issue to emphasise is the rigidity of the social fabric of Kurdistan society and the strong pressure this exerts on individuals to conform to the ideas, attitudes, beliefs and emotional feelings of the majority. It is a strongly conservative society that follows values of custom and tradition. Thus, even if a student has skills and knowledge, it is difficult for him or her to have different ideas and to be open to change. This conformity and uniformity of society prevents people from having different ideas. The presence of this approach undermines the wellbeing of the population as diversity of thought, belief and attitude become understood as negative qualities. This tends to make changes in society very slow. The following quote from Erich Fromm, stated in *Escape from Freedom* (1996: 255-256), describes the dangers of conformity very well:

“[Man] has become free from the external bonds that would prevent him from doing and thinking as he sees fit. He would be free to act according to his own will, if he knew what he wanted, thought, and felt. But he does not know. He conforms to

anonymous authorities and adopts a self which is not his. The more he does this, the more powerless he feels, the more he is forced to conform. In spite of a veneer of optimism and initiative, modern man is overcome by a profound feeling of powerlessness which makes him gaze toward approaching catastrophes as though he were paralyzed”.

Judith Neurink describes the situation by referring to the education system in universities in Kurdistan as spoonfeeding and comparing a group of students in Kurdistan to “a nest full of baby birds, who open their beaks to receive the food the parent is bringing in”.⁶⁰

Similarly all social projects are done by the government, with the majority of civil society's institutions being dependent on government funding. The media, TV, radio are dependent on government or political parties or business men to support them.

In education itself, the political and cultural constraints that forbid any form of critical approach mean that there is a notable lack of critical research studies. Moreover, the dominant scholarship culture favours theoretical and quantitative research over applied and qualitative research. As Paul Willis (1981) asserts, in support of qualitative research in critical research education, surveys and questionnaires (which are mostly used in IK) do not have “the depth to report and show the creative life of culture”. He posits that “cultural forms and movements can only be researched in a valid way by direct forms of fieldwork”.

Lastly, there is also a serious lack of good physical infrastructure such as enough schools making triple shifts necessary, as described in Chapter 9.

5.8 Conclusion

Iraq has historically taken great interest in education, and has attained remarkable outcomes dating back to the ancient Mesopotamian civilization and the early Arab Islamic empire in the ninth century. However, since the inception of the Iraqi state, the educational system has declined due to many factors; the main one being the indoctrination and manipulation of education for government interests. The focus of this has been on nationalism, Arabization, militarization and instilling a sense of self-sacrifice for the homeland. This latter involves making students understand that there are always enemies wanting to destroy their country so students need to be ready to defend their country; and

⁶⁰ Cited in Rudaw [online] Available at <http://rudaw.net/english/opinion/16112013> [Date accessed 19/11/13]

religion has often been used to legitimize and consolidate this. However, many other factors have exacerbated the situation, such as political instability, economic deterioration, government involvement and influence in manipulating the educational system, insurgent threats, sectarianism and discrimination. These have added to the deterioration of the education system in Iraq and the difficulties in improving it.

According to Bourdieu's (1990) theory of social reproduction, the main function of education is to reproduce the culture of the dominant elite, imposing oppressive meanings that are intrinsic to that culture as legitimate. The brief history of Iraqi Kurdistan education presented here vividly illustrates how the schools became agents of inequalities, exclusion and reproduction of the culture of the dominant class. Thus, during the colonization by the Ottoman Empire, and the concomitant political instabilities, the government provided only Islamic studies as a means to making the people accept the Islamic Ottoman rule. Similarly, under the British Mandate, the education curricula focused on Arab culture and lacked other minorities' representation, thus ensuring the marginalisation of other ethnic groups. The situation was exacerbated by the weak economic situation and political instability and in response the indoctrination became more entrenched. During the Hashemite rule, the education system was run largely by pan-Arab nationalists and throughout this period the levels of indoctrination relating to nationalism increased.

Although education flourished under the first Iraqi republic government in 1958 as the economic situation improved and budgets were available for educational and economic development, this did not last long. It was soon replaced by the highly indoctrinating, single narrative of Ba'ath Party education, which led to a stagnation that was exacerbated by the economic situation and the wars with Iran, Kuwait, and the US and its allies. After attaining self-rule, the KRG had the opportunity to reform the education system despite severe political and economic constraints both in theoretical and practical terms. There was also a lack of Kurdish professional scholars as the KRG had taken over the government institutions suddenly and without any prior experience. The real educational reform started after the invasion with the help of INGOs, and the big investment from the US.⁶¹

This chapter analysed how the education system was manipulated for government interests and how the sole method of teaching was the 'banking education system', which is well suited to indoctrination. This has impacted on students, teachers, parents and policy

⁶¹ Michael Rubin in interview with Abdulaziz Taib in 2002 mentioned that the process of democratizing will start in the coming year in IK.

makers to the extent that it has become a way of life and, consequently, difficult to change. Therefore, this presents extreme challenges in implementing the new education system. However, the KRG intend democratising the education system. As stated by a representative of the previous ME in 2002, the government has “an interest in children studying about other culture and countries, both to broaden their horizons, and also reinforce lessons about human rights, children's rights, equality between men and women, and democracy”. He further stated that “the process of democratization will begin in schools. We have given teachers and students training in the workings of democracy, and we have banned the beating of students by their teachers, something which is still permitted by Baghdad” (Rubin 2002).

Thus, education in Kurdistan needs to promote sound moral values in individuals, including self-discipline, self-reliance and integrated personalities, through an emphasis on social equality and responsibility. It also needs to provide challenging opportunities for collective activities and corporate social service irrespective of gender, ability or geographical environment. The next chapter explores how the ME intends to make this happen.

Chapter Six: Ministry of Education Strategies for Implementation of Peace Education

This item has been removed due to 3rd party copyright. The unabridged version of the thesis can be viewed in the Lanchester Library Coventry University.

Nechirvan Barzani, (quoted in Akrawi 2008:100)⁶²

6.0 Introduction

Previous school curricula that were developed in the socio-political and educational contexts in Iraq and Kurdistan discussed in Chapters Four and Five, respectively, lacked peace-orientated content and, consequently, there was an urgent need for reform to encourage greater integration, peaceful perspectives and more cooperation. This chapter explores the policy and strategies of the ME and their relationship to internationally accepted peace values, within the context of the norms and accepted cultural practices in IK.

Therefore, while the HE curriculum was developed by the Curriculum Development Department (CDD), the KRG introduced HRE through a separate process, with the support of the NPA. Firstly, this involved a pilot scheme in 18 schools in Sulaimaniyah in 2005, in which students had one lesson per week, as they do now, and was later expanded throughout Kurdistan. The subject is studied in the fifth and seventh years of foundation school, and then again in the tenth year.

The HRE textbooks focus on the UDHR so as to foster universal values, challenge individuals' values and perspectives, and enhance universal culture, aiming to build understanding and reduce prejudice. This is important in Iraq because there is still racism between the different ethnic groups. PE can contribute to laying down the principles and foundations for lasting peace, as well as offering much needed methods for promoting reconciliation (Ardizzone 2001, Baxter and Ikobwa 2005, Salomon 2002). For example, building national reconciliation has been on the government's agenda since 2003.

This chapter highlights the ME's explicit and implicit aims and objectives, discusses the processes of making and implementing the HRE and HE curricula and

⁶² Akrawi Rasheed, (2008) *Our schools and their schools and the way to catch up with the civilisation caravan: An objective and comparative study*. Duhok, Zana Press. Pp. 100

clarifies the roles of the actors involved. The chapter finishes by considering how the HRE program is evaluated, indicating the challenges facing the ME and making recommendations.

6.1 Seizing the Opportunity for a new Education System

As described in the previous chapter, decentralisation from the central government in 1991 gave the IK ME independence in their decision-making and so, after three decades of dictatorship, the opportunity arose to make fundamental changes to the education system. The KRG desired a transformative education system based on universal human rights principles. This goal presented a great challenge since there was an urgent need to rebuild the whole infrastructure in accord with global standards. There was a lack of opportunity for schooling in many areas of Kurdistan and one of the KRG goals was for the ME to provide educational opportunities for all. The existing schools were also in urgent need of refurbishment, especially in rural areas where the schooling system had been marginalised by the Iraqi government. The KRG had support from INGOs to build schools and to refurbish the existing ones following the destruction of thousands of villages in 1988 when many thousands of children were displaced and deprived of schooling.

However, not only was there a need for a complete overhaul of the education system but also for a major reappraisal of the knowledge to be taught following the stagnating effects of the Ba'ath Party system. People's minds needed to be "reset" to new ideas and beliefs, and to the principle that education reforms are essential for building a mindset whereby people are able to think freely. As Durkheim claims, "change in society always precedes changes in the education system" (cited in Fagerlind and Saha 1989:36). The KRG was aware of the need to have citizens that can embrace tolerance and liberal democratic values for the next generation; and that the future of the area is in the hands of its children, who will shape it according to their values. Thus, the new modern education needed to enable them to participate in the construction of a peaceful and democratic government. As one ME official stated, the goal of the new system of education is "to change the mindset of youth to be more liberal and away from extremism, fanaticism and for the people to be open minded to hear and accept different opinions".⁶³ Above all, the

⁶³ Interview with Alquarani Ahmed ME consultant 17/12/ 2012.

KRG wanted to create a different system to that of the previous dictatorship with an emphasis on building the capacities of its citizens.

6.2 The Aims of the Ministry of Education

The overall aim of the ME in introducing HRE textbooks is to include concepts of equality and justice, the rights and the responsibilities of individuals, and of the state, to the education system. The majority of people in IK are not familiar with these and as a result structural violence is inherent in the system and needs to be addressed and transformed. However, awareness of rights will encourage people to reject inequality and oppression, and become catalysts for change. Building peace and understanding of worldwide issues needs a lot of knowledge and skills in working to foster peace; and this can only be achieved through systemic global education. As Maria Montessori (1972:iii) stated, “[e]stablishing lasting peace is the work of education; all politics can do is keep us out of war”. By studying HRE, students in IK will come to appreciate cultural diversity. Thus a primary aim of the ME is to foster cooperation and universal understanding, and to provide mutual benefits.

However, the aims were also political, as the newly introduced syllabus would appease the international community, and assure it that the KRG is doing its best to bring about peace. As Alquarani, an ME official, argued, "introducing these curricula means accepting and supporting the works, activities, objectives of the UDHR and international human rights and peace organizations. Kurdistan will be among the first of many neighbouring states to do this".⁶⁴

Alquarani also stated that "the aims of the HRE curricula are to foster peaceful and internationally cooperative thoughts among the youth".⁶⁵ Iraq and Kurdistan are multi-ethnic societies, with tribal and intractable regions. Therefore incorporating peace values in the school curricula is very important, especially since the invasion and subsequent toppling of three decades of dictatorship. Alquarani (1997) recommends that "the next step is to introduce more courses about the other UN agencies, its principles and aims

⁶⁴ Interview with ME official consultant 07/01/2013

⁶⁵ Interview with ME official consultant 07/01/2013

because education about international domains is of great importance in the contemporary world".⁶⁶

In accordance with the newly introduced and reformed curricula, new educational methods need to be made compatible with these curricula, as explained in detail throughout this chapter.

6.2.1 Promoting Kurdish Nationalism

Since its foundation, the ME has sought to promote and encourage Kurdish national identity and to “foster an educated generation that loves their country and its citizens” (Afaq Tarbawia 2004:27). This aim was reemphasized at the education conference in 2007, as the intention to “create a generation confident of themselves, believing in democracy, loyal to Kurdistan and with a complete personality” (Education and Learning 2008:235). In this, IK is following other states who gained de facto recognition through the invocation of nationalism against a background of central state collapse, such as Somaliland in Somalia; Eritrea in Ethiopia; Biafra in Nigeria and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. To achieve this objective, students study ancient and modern history of the Kurds, including the revolutions and the uprisings. Revolutions and violent conflicts are praised as legitimate means in the struggle to achieve self-rule. Furthermore, teachers of HE are required to talk for five minutes about KRG achievements at the beginning of every class.

In the Kurdish integrated schools (ethnically-mixed schools), fostering a sense of Kurdish nationalism through education was seen as an encouragement, rather than a cause for complaint, and most of the teachers who were interviewed believed it was a good idea to talk about KRG achievements. Their arguments were highlighted in one teacher’s statement:

"we want to teach our students that the blessed life that they are in, did not come in vaguely, without sacrifices, KRG made a lot of sacrifices, martyrs, without peshmergah we would not be in this situation, these students have seen nothing, no wars, no sufferings, and it is good to be reminded from time to time"⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Interview with ME official consultant 07/01/2013

⁶⁷ Interview with a teacher focus group in Duhok 06/01/2013

However, this issue caused many complaints among Christians and Yezidis⁶⁸ teachers. One of the Christian teachers explained this: "They want to make us Kurds by force, as the Arabs before wanted to make us Arabs, the ME want to drive students toward Kurdish nationalism".⁶⁹ All the minority groups were involved in the process of changing the curricula presented in school textbooks except the Yezidis. Thus, the absence of the Yezidis in the process of developing and designing the HRE and HE courses is a clear indicator of the dominance of the Kurdish Muslim majority. It reflects the imbalances of power and the weakness of the Yezidis and can be seen as structural violence. When the researchers questioned a ME representative about the absence of the Yezidis community he replied that "the Yezidis are Kurdish despite having different religion but they speak Kurdish".⁷⁰ However, the question remains as to how the ME's approach encourages the involvement of other communities, which is discussed below.

6.2.2 Preventing all forms of Discrimination

The ME claim that they aim to ensure the inclusiveness of all religious and ethnic groups in the new education system, however, it is hard to find evidence for such a claim. Nevertheless, the ministry has made many efforts to coordinate the development of HRE with INGOs and local NGOs. In particular, it has worked closely with the INGO, Norwegian People's Aid, to develop the contents of the HRE curricula in partnership with what was then known as the Ministry of Human Rights (MHR). The involvement of INGOs was important as IK lacked expertise in this field and the NPA provided this for the process of making and evaluating the HRE curricula. As Atef Ahmed, coordinator of NPA, stated in interview:

"[T]he involvement of the NPA was of great importance because, as an international NGO, it could put pressure on the government to speed up the process of implementation of HRE that was hampered by the bureaucracy and rigid structure of the KRG. Thus, without the patronage of NPA, the process would have taken a much longer time and also there was a clear lack of experts in the country and the region."⁷¹

⁶⁸ A non-Muslim ethnic group living in IK (introduced in Chapter 4).

⁶⁹ Interview with a teacher Assyrian School in Duhok 10/12/2012

⁷⁰ Interview with ME official 07/12/2012

⁷¹ Interview in Sulaimaniyah in Kurdish with Atef Ahmed coordinator of NPA on 23/12/2012.

Thus, the NPA played a leading role in both the funding and development of the HRE curricula and strengthened coordination between the local NGOs and the ME.

Since its creation in 1991, the KRG ME has ensured the involvement of the two main minority groups in the making and designing of the curricula by setting up independent minorities departments within the ME, and in every district directorate for education, specifically for Christians and Turkmen. The role of these departments is to ensure that the curricula are inclusive and not biased. Thus, when the ME is involved in developing a new curriculum, it has to be approved by these (Christian and Turkmen) minority groups before the final draft is published and distributed in schools. Furthermore, since the ME has given the minorities the right to study the curricula in their own language, Assyrian and Turkmen schools have been established in Kurdistan. In the areas where the Assyrian or Turkmen schools are distant, the government pays for students' transportation (Assyrian Monitor Duhok Education District 2004).

However, as mentioned above, the Yezidi communities are not included in the process of making the curricula, nor in the decision-making process. Apparently, the ME sees the Yezidis as Kurdish because they speak the Kurdish language although they have a different religion, as opposed to the Christians who speak Assyrian and the Turkmen who speak Turkish. This was noticed during the field visit and, in interviews, some Yezidi community teachers argued that "the ME is lacking in fairness and inclusiveness" and most of the teachers were not happy with the education system. One Yezidis head teacher stated that "despite the fact we have complained many times to the ME about creating a Yezidi committee like the Christians and Turkmen have, they did not reply to us - we feel marginalized".⁷²

The ME aims to "teach students about their rights, responsibilities and obligations toward their people and nation" (Afaq Tarbawia 2004:27). As stated above, it recognises that all students need to know about their rights and responsibilities and to respect the rights of others and it is the responsibility of all to cooperate to prevent all types of discrimination. However, the phenomenon of discrimination and non-acceptance of other people unless they become like them is a widespread phenomenon in Kurdistan. To put further emphasis on resolving this issue, the ME incorporated all the international human rights articles into the HRE textbooks for students to learn. Thus, the new education

⁷² Interview with a teacher in Xanke Yezidi school, Duhok, 06/12/2012

system in Kurdistan reemphasises that all students should be treated with respect and that any type of persecution toward students, whether it is physical or psychological, should be stopped and if anything like this happens, the school is held responsible (Education and Learning 2008:235). Hence, the students' knowledge about their rights and obligation is understood to serve to reduce discrimination.

However, the missing point is that students need to know and read about other community practices and rituals so as to see evidence of other community cultures, ideologies, and historical facts. This is necessary for students to be able to identify any prejudice related to another ethnicity and to correct this misinformation. However, the curricula and processes of education of IK lack equal inclusiveness of all communities and, consequently, students do not study the ethnic backgrounds of their society's minorities. Therefore, their knowledge is not based on the cultural norms, ideas, and practices of other ethnicities in their society and so is liable to be biased and incorrect, based as it is on what the majority opinion. Students may also believe anything said outside the school environment about a particular community and this may affect their relationships in schools. To have sustainable peace all communities have to live in a state of equality and acceptance of one another, without the other having to change in order to be accepted. This argument is in line with the statements of the majority of Yezidi teachers interviewed who emphasised the importance of Muslims knowing about Yezidi culture as well as Islamic culture.

Thus, there is clearly a challenge to implement such ideas and values in mixed schools that include different minorities. In such schools, the researcher observed racism and discriminatory practices against minority groups. Discrimination is so ingrained in the IK society that it is not obvious to the people. Some teachers are not aware of it and others do not see it as an important issue. This was made evident during the fieldwork when one of the Yezidi teachers stated that "we have students who don't want to be called Yezidi because they like Muslims, they don't want to leave the Islamic studies class, but the teacher said I had to remove them by force".⁷³ When the researcher investigated the matter with one of the parents he was informed that "our children come home and say that they been insulted and beaten by students because their religion [Yezidis] is different".⁷⁴

⁷³ Interview with a teacher in Xanke Yezidi school, Duhok, 12/12/2012

⁷⁴ Interview with a Yezidis parent 06/12/2012

Usually teachers are not aware of such incidents. Students, however, want to be known as Muslims and not Yezidis so as to avoid discrimination and harassment.

Racism is prevalent throughout the school system with staff and students in Arabic schools facing similar discrimination. This is reflected in the anti-Arab feeling created by the division between the KRG and the Iraq government, Arabic being the formal language of the latter. In interviews, both head teachers and other teachers in Arabic schools angrily complained that teachers in Arabic speaking schools get less salary than teachers in other Kurdish schools, so where are the human rights you talk about. Some head teachers further stated that they experience racism from students of the Kurdish school. They said that one way to insult someone is, in the words of one head teacher, "to chant "Arabs, Arabs", and the parents have to come to school to pick up their children otherwise they might get beaten by the neighbours, thus, as teachers we are marginalized schools".⁷⁵ None of these teachers were ethnically Arab. They were, in fact, displaced Kurdish teachers coming from other cities such as Mosul, Baghdad and other Arabic speaking areas and other teachers were Christians. These examples highlight the lack of sensitivity and fairness towards schools of other ethnicities. This lack of awareness combined with the lack of monitoring systems that do not give enough importance to the overall structure and atmosphere of schools demonstrates the prevalence of symbolic violence through marginalizing the other community schools.

However, in the classroom students are afraid to make racist comments in class because of the teacher's presence. Many teachers believe that their job is restricted to teaching students in the classroom, not the behaviour of students outside class. However, by observing their students, teachers could demonstrate the values of taking care of one another, being empathetic, and not using bad language. Therefore, the remedy requires unprecedented diagnosis and prognosis.

Overall, as explained by Ahmed Alqarani, an ME official, the ME has taken the initiative to:

"reform the education system and develop it at all levels in accordance with the social political context of Iraqi society, and being inclusive of all Kurdish society to reflect needs and requirements. Taking into account the needs of national minorities and make use of human, natural resources and financial resources

⁷⁵ Interview with a head teacher in an Arabic school in Duhok 10/12/2012

to ensure development, prosperity, the achievement of equal opportunities and to achieve peace in Iraq and worldwide."⁷⁶

6.2.3 Banning all forms of Violence against Students

For many years corporal punishment was part of the culture in Kurdish schools till, in 2000, the ME introduced a total ban on all types of corporal punishment in schools, and specifically that used against students. Through this, the new education system aims to make school a safe and happy a place for students. However, reducing violence will take more comprehensive strategies that include altering the social environment at school since studies have proven that this has a strong effect on aggressive behaviour (Farrell and Meyer, 1997). Despite the change in the law regarding corporal punishment, many students still get beaten and insulted, even though possibly not to the extent of previous years. This was ascertained through the interviews, in which only two of the 40 teachers interviewed supported the idea of banning corporal punishment. One of these stated that "the time of beating students is gone, students have to be treated differently and not like animals, only animals can be disciplined by beating them, human beings are not disciplined by beating".⁷⁷

However, the opinions of all the others were very far from HR principles. One teacher stated that:

"This system is copied from the Swedish state; the students in Sweden are different from our students. For example, if we leave our students without a teacher in the class for half an hour, they will throw desks at one another, they will destroy everything. Our students are destructive, whereas the Swedish students may read something, they are constructive, and can be left alone."⁷⁸

Thus, although the new education system supports positive disciplining of students through guidance and counselling, many teachers are convinced of its ineffectiveness because they believe that students will only listen if they are scared. Consequently, current

⁷⁶ Interview with Ahmed Alqarani, ME official 07/01/ 2013

⁷⁷ Interview with a teacher in Duhok school 06/12/2012.

⁷⁸ Interview with a teacher in Duhok school 06/12/2012.

practice continues to encourage the use or threat of violence. To change the attitudes of teachers and society is a long process and needs to be addressed at several levels,

6.2.4 Openness and Transparency

In response to its concern to make HRE flexible, interesting and appropriate, the ME has consistently organized workshops and held conferences on the subject, inviting NGOs and Kurdish scholars to attend. These are generally only arranged for HRE and rarely for other subjects. In the introduction to the last HRE conference, held in December 2012 for teachers as well as academics and NGOs,⁷⁹ it was reemphasized that, in HRE for fifth grade, "the new education system is transparent and open to different views and ideas to improve the contents of the textbooks".⁸⁰ Hence, the involvement of teachers in the improvement of the curricula of HRE is explicitly encouraged. It also asserted the importance of encouraging students' participation in the class, and the need for them to express their opinions freely without feeling judged, even though they may differ from the teacher's opinion: "The new education system aims to make students respect other opinions, and be open-minded and not to judge the other students based on their ethnicity or ideologies".⁸¹

This is a very optimistic initiative from the government and an important policy change. The ME explicitly states that it wants to make HRE inclusive since, as Barton states, "inclusive education is about responding to diversity; it is about listening to unfamiliar voices, being open, empowering all members and about celebrating 'difference' in dignified ways" (Barton 1997: 233). However, the reality is very different and many decision-makers do not believe in changing the process of education as this may affect their own interests. For example, Bakhtiar, a coordinator of CDO NGO, stated: "I was supervising the evaluation program of HRE in 2007, and after visiting many schools we came out with a list of suggestions and recommendations for improving the program. Although, we gave these recommendations to the ME, nothing has changed since then".⁸² Another worker at the national Zewa Centre for Protection of Child Rights stated that, "very often the decision-makers need training to believe in human rights". Clearly,

⁷⁹ The last conference for evaluation of HRE was held in Erbil in 18/12/12 to discuss how to improve the programs with the NPA, Esmat Khalid (Minister of Education), and many local NGOs, teachers, academics and scholars.

⁸⁰ Mentioned in HRE fifth year textbook 2012:4.

⁸¹ Mentioned in HRE fifth year textbook 2012:4.

⁸² Interview with CDO representative 19/12/12

implicitly the ME does not want any changes. This reflects the notion that dominant discourse is the only valid and authentic discourse and the old system is the only method of instilling culture (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977).

6.2.5 Making the Curricula more relevant to Students' Lives

The nature and success of peace education⁸³ is determined by the issues that concern society because the aim is to serve society's needs, concerns, and objectives (Bar-Tal 2002). Therefore, the ME wanted to make the HRE curriculum more compatible with the students' needs and requirements. For example, the textbook seeks to empower children and women as they are the most vulnerable people in society and makes clear that they have the right to live in peace, free from all types of violence. This is important because abuse of children and women is prevalent in IK society. The textbook asserts that girls have the right not to marry till after 15 years of age and that the marriage contract has to be made in court. This is intended to stop child marriages and to stop marriage at home without court jurisdiction or the girl's consent; and to ensure that the perpetrators are imprisoned.

At the present time, the Kurds have a great many opportunities, as the decentralized education system is independent from the Baghdad government and has entered a new phase of connection with the global community. Global standards of education will encourage many Kurdish families to return from Europe and America so their children can continue with education they are used to.

The results of the 2008/2009 survey by the People Development Association (PDA) to evaluate the HRE textbook were relatively positive. These indicated that 59.7% of teachers stated that the book is compatible with students' abilities and educational standards (PDA 2009). A further survey in 2012/2013 showed that 45% of students stated that it is relevant to the social structure of society and 28% stated that many of the subjects covered are very relevant to the lives of Kurdish people (PDA 2013); thus, further adjustment is needed for the curricula. The conference of December 2012 stated that the subject of HRE has to be more related to the Kurdistan life and society. The participants of the conference asserted that the time constraints on classes (one class of 30 minutes per week) and the physical infrastructure of the HRE class were the main obstacles to making

⁸³ HRE is treated as a peace education program throughout the thesis.

the subject more related to contemporary society. As one of the monitors participating in the conference argued:

"The shortcomings in making the subject more related to the society depend more on teachers than the content itself because teachers can make the subject more related. For example, teachers can do practical activities that learners may engage in. This can be carried out if teachers have more time, resources, and a classroom with manageable pupil numbers".⁸⁴

It was stated that every HR teacher must adapt to the situation and show the students examples of knowledge and ways of putting it into practice. However, as explored in Chapter Nine, the lack of enthusiasm on the part of teachers increases their difficulties in relating the subject to the social context. Nonetheless, the commitment of the government, coupled with the awareness and importance that students attach to the subject, may well inspire teachers to develop their capabilities, especially if they were given the resources needed.

6.3 The Process of making the HE and HRE Curricula

In general, the process of developing HRE and HE is difficult for societies emerging from war and prolonged educational indoctrination. Scholars, such as Romanowski (1996), offer sound criticism of history textbooks in America, arguing that textbooks and specifically history textbooks cannot be seen as impartial and neutral educational tools because "they incorporate attitudes and ways of looking at the world and textbooks are influenced by the political, ideological or moral beliefs of the authors [that] usually support the status quo" (Romanowsky 1996:170, Prewit 2008). This reflects my informants' assertion that people involved in making HE curriculum are selected by the CDD. It was also apparent that professionals in the CDD were solely from Kurdish Muslims ethnic backgrounds not from other ethnic background such as Turkmen, Christians, and Yezidis. However, HRE development is more participatory and transparent, involving in INGOs as well as local NGOs.

⁸⁴ Interview with a monitor 03/01/2013

The HE curriculum is developed for the ME by the CDD, which designs and publishes the curricula of all subjects except HRE, with one expert working full-time on HE. According to the CDD literature, a committee of history PhD students and the CDD expert (to monitor those with qualifications in their specialised areas) was established to write the curriculum. Following this, it goes to a committee of Turkmen and Christians for approval. It then becomes the accepted curriculum and is implemented in schools. The HE expert, Sharef Omer stated that:

"The ME took into consideration some criteria when making the HE. For example, including texts that encourage Kurdish nationalism to make students proud of themselves for being Kurdish. It incorporated texts about the oppression that the Kurds have experienced throughout Kurdistan, including the revolutions, demonstrations and uprising that the Kurds have experienced in history. Then, the validity and reliability of the information used in the curricula is taken into consideration."⁸⁵

Thus, the HE syllabus is designed and developed under the supervision of the ME alone, albeit with Christian and Turkmen approval, in contrast to HRE which is inclusive. However, HE can be a subject that teaches about transformative pedagogy and peace by providing multiple narratives and fostering empathy and critical thinking. It is also usually considered an important channel through which the state can disseminate its aims and objectives. In a society in transition, like Kurdistan, this is especially important to encourage tolerance and to strengthen understanding between the different ethnicities in IK. Traditionally, HE has taught of military conquests, wars, and contradictory, dominant narratives despite its importance for spreading peace among the different peoples living in society. However, there are few studies that show effective pedagogy relating to HE in IK or Iraq because the subject contains difficult issues about the past and so involves disagreements about what should be included. Consequently, the supervisor of the HE curriculum development argued that, since HE is a sensitive topic, a selected number of experts should be invited to the process of making the curricula.⁸⁶

Moreover, the process of involving, as well as commenting and giving feedback

⁸⁵ Interview with ME official 11/12/2012

⁸⁶ Interview with Mohammed Ahmed, curriculum developer, Erbil, 05/01/2013.

on HE, and any other subject, is made easy for teachers as they are able to write comments and give them to the monitors. The ME approach was intended to make the process of changing and rewriting the curricula dynamic and flexible. However, many teachers of HE were not happy with this process because they felt their views had not been taken seriously and their suggestions were not included in future modifications of the curricula. A survey in 2012-2013 conducted by the PDA showed that 59% of students stated that HRE is important and 33% stated that it is one of the most important subjects in the school (PDA 2013).

As mentioned above and indicated by my interviewees, there was agreement that Kurds know more about our history than INGOs. Thus, the HRE was initiated by the NPA working with seven local NGOs,⁸⁷ the ME and the Kurdistan MHR (now the Committee of Human Rights (CHR)) to produce the HRE curriculum. In the Duhok and Erbil governorates the proposal for introducing HRE was initially made in 2004, in the first educational workshop of Iraq MHR.⁸⁸ Representatives from all governorates and universities in Iraq participated in this workshop. After an evaluation of the initial pilot project in Sulaimaniyah indicated that HRE was of interest to students, parents and teachers, the availability of HRE textbooks was expanded to include all schools in Sulaimaniyah and its districts (72 schools), for the 2005-2006 school year. In 2006 after the unification of the two parties, PUK and KDP discussed in Chapter 4, the HRE program were expanded to Erbil and Duhok and, in 2009, the program was further extended to the Kirkuk area.⁸⁹

The role of NGOs

The involvement of INGOs increased in IK after the regime change. The NPA had come to Kurdistan in 1995 through the community development program funded by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (NMFA) (NCA 2010). As Rebwaz, an NPA coordinator, explained:

⁸⁷ These included the People's Aid Organisation, the Kurdish Institute for Election, the Kurdistan Children Nest, the Kurdistan Economic Development Organisation, the Civic Development Centre, the Badlisi Cultural Center and Democracy Human Rights Development.

⁸⁸ For more information about the conference, see Afaq Tarbawia (2004). *The procedure of Ministry of Education in the domain of introducing human rights principles into the schools curricula*. No. 5. December, pp. 27-32

⁸⁹ Interview with Atef, NPA coordinator 20/12/2012.

"the NPA support the HRE program, because human rights and peacebuilding coexistence is one of its main programs. Kurdistan is a post-conflict reconstructing society and HRE did not exist here before the NPA initiated it. And the NPA consider it important for Kurdistan society."⁹⁰

The parties participating in the production of the HRE curriculum went through three phases: First, they discussed topics and texts that they wanted integrated into the textbook; these related to the rights accorded by UDHR and related HR conventions, and the procedures that exist to remedy the violations of human rights. Secondly, they invited participation from local civil societies. Thirdly, they wrote the first draft of the curriculum, which then went to the ME for approval. In the ME a committee of three people was established, two experts in education and one expert in HRE. The final draft was agreed upon and approved, and then sent to the schools to be implemented.⁹¹ Thus, the formation of HRE was inclusive and transformative, with international, governmental and local participation.

The participation of all these actors was, in itself, a success. It was the first time that they had all been involved in the education program. The inclusion of the NPA ensured that at this stage everything was done in accordance with international human rights principles and standards. However, due to the lack of HRE experts in IK, it proved difficult to follow up the implementation of the program and to provide support for teachers. The involvement of the local NGOs was also important to ensure that the program was related to the Kurdish society. The involvement of the ME and the CHR ensured that government and decisions-makers were aware of the implicit and explicit objectives, and that the program would have greater legitimacy. Moreover, the work and cooperation of many actors in this program strengthened the relationships between the actors involved. This has laid the foundations for further cooperation in future projects and an increased understanding of one another.

The ME, through the CDD, developed appropriate expertise within the field of human rights that could support the program. They provided training of trainers (TOT) courses for the HRE monitors from the three governorates, with three coming from Dohuk city alone. Because the ME lacked specialists for training in HRE, the NPA supported the

⁹⁰ Interview with Rebwaz, NPA coordinator 4/06/2013.

⁹¹ Interview with Hogr, coordinator of PAO NGO 17/12/2012

Iraqi PAO in its help for the ME in providing training for teachers. The ME and PAO trained some monitors to be trainers of trainers as the first step. They continued to train teachers of HRE as well as TOT trainers. Then the TOT trainers trained teachers of HRE in their areas. Beyond expert personnel, the introduction of HRE into the school curriculum involved the provision of many other facilities that the ME and NGO aims to implement as part of the HRE program, as discussed below.

6.4 Facilities and Support from ME and NGOs

6.4.1 Providing Training

Harber and Stephens (2009) argue that significant educational change demands whole school training as the few teachers trained do not have enough authority to change everyone in the school. However, currently the only teachers given training in HRE are those specifically teaching the subject. Thus, a major challenge in the implementation of an effective PE program is the lack of adequate training and support for teachers and the help provided by NGOs and the ME cannot cover the huge demand in IK. The CDD, in cooperation with the PAO and the NPA, designed and organised TOTs and training for HRE teachers. However, the CDD had only one supervisor and trainer for HRE, and the local NGOs, provided trainers to address this issue. Hence, the capacity of ME is limited compared to the need for teacher training. Consequently, the majority of interviewees were teachers who had not participated in any training (only five teachers out of the 38 interviewed had training).

The ME is well aware of the matter because the evaluations of the yearly surveys of teachers, parents, and students have indicated this lack of training. The PDA 2007/2008 survey showed that 89% of teachers had not participated in any training and the evaluation of 2008/2009 showed that 88.6% had not done so (PDA 2009). Moreover, the interviews conducted with teachers during the field study revealed that there was some evidence that those who had taken the training had no impact upon other teachers, which undermines the effectiveness of HRE. One teacher stated that "not enough teachers were trained in foundations schools in IK and those teachers that were trained find it very challenging to influence the many teachers who were not trained or who received little training".⁹²

⁹² Interview with a teacher in a Sulaimaniyah school 19/12/2012

This situation persists despite the fact that the ME provided more opportunities for training in some districts. However, it did not make such training obligatory. For example, of the three participants in the TOT in the Duhok education directorate district, only one trainer went on to train 25 teachers and that is all that was achieved. Thus, only a very small number of teachers have been trained and, given that Duhok city has more than 76 foundation schools, three trainers for city is wholly inadequate. Therefore, there is a continuing lack of resources to train more teachers. When the researcher asked about the reasons that many teachers had not been trained, the ME supervisor of HRE explained:

"We have more than 18,000 teachers of social studies;⁹³ as most social studies teachers teach HRE, we have trained around 5,000 teachers. Also the majority of teachers are women, many get maternity leave. Moreover, many teachers transfer from one school to another; hence the replacement teacher may not be trained."⁹⁴

There was also evidence of lack of professionalism and expertise among the training team, as four of five teachers who had been in training mentioned that they did not benefit much from the training. One teacher stated that, "the trainers are lecturers, they are not teachers, they are not aware of the reality of schools, and when we ask them how to implement this into the class, they reply 'try it'. It is only a pilot program and pilot system".⁹⁵ Another teacher supported this view when he explained that, "we should see how to implement these objectives in reality. We want to be trained by expert teachers, to show us how to teach in *our* classes, not in a Sweden".⁹⁶

It is important to highlight that the training courses were very short (some were one day, some several days, or a week). Such minimal training is unlikely to lead to a real change in pedagogy in IK. What is needed is systematic, continuous and longer term training that is practical and implemented in each school separately and during school hours. Integration of teacher training throughout the year, as the author observed in UK schools, would also be desirable. This kind of training would aim to change teachers' attitudes as well as provide them with intellectual and practical tools and the capability for critical thinking.

⁹³ Social studies subjects are the humanities - history, geography, citizenship - all in one book.

⁹⁴ Interview with Yousef, CDD representative 21/12/2012.

⁹⁵ Interview with a teacher in Duhok school 05/12/2012

⁹⁶ Interview with a teacher in Duhok school 05/12/2012

6.4.2 Monitoring Services

The ME introduced monitoring for both HRE and HE and currently designates a supervisor for every HRE teacher. All interviewed teachers agreed that “the treatment of monitors toward teachers had improved” and one teacher stated: "We are much happier now than before and they treat us now like friends". Another supported this approach and reemphasised that "we are not scared of them anymore, they are helping us".⁹⁷ However, the monitors complained about teachers' lack of a sense of duty and responsibility towards their own community. One monitor stated that "teachers are working to get salaries; the students do not know when they will finish their lessons".⁹⁸ Most teachers agreed with this statement. As one teacher explained: "If I have a job to do outside school I do not care about students, I just tell another teacher to go and replace me".⁹⁹ This is a challenge that hinders future improvement to the new educational system. Moreover, the ME, through the monitors, is more interested in technical aspects than practical ones. As one monitor stated:

"Our job is to monitor every teacher three times. I have 40 foundation schools, monitoring social studies teachers. I go at the beginning of the school and give teachers advice on how to organise, prepare and allot marks. The second time, I go in the middle of the calendar year to see how the teacher is doing and let them know if there are any new rules. The third time, I go to check and test the teacher and students".¹⁰⁰

Clearly, the commitment and the ability to implement policies are lacking in the HRE program. The ME, as well as the monitors and teachers, have the view that HRE can be maintained by using the existing school structure. This therefore remains a challenge because the school structure is authoritarian and perpetuates symbolic violence through the policy of the ME monitoring services that depend solely on technical issues. The teachers also mentioned the lack of coordination between teachers and the ME, and the lack of advance information to enable teachers to be better prepared. As one teacher argued:

⁹⁷ Interview with a teacher in Sulaimaniyah school 18/12/2012.

⁹⁸ Interviewed with a monitor in Duhok 07/12/2012

⁹⁹ Interview with a teacher in Duhok school 11/12/2012

¹⁰⁰ Interview with a monitor in Duhok school 11/12/2012

"No books arrive early, and we are not informed in advance about the regulations. For example, for social studies there is one book, and the school works on a semester system; students study geography in one semester and history in another semester - so we do not know which one to study first whether Geography or History."¹⁰¹

Thus, for HRE to be more effective, the ME has to improve the nature of the relationship and contact between teachers, monitors and the ME.

Moreover, there is also a lack of qualified monitors, and of written policies for monitors to follow when doing their work. In 2007, when the ME merged the primary schools and secondary schools into foundation schools and made education compulsory, primary education monitors had diplomas, while secondary education teachers had bachelor degrees. However, at the present time,¹⁰² monitors trained to assess primary education are monitoring foundation schools teachers. Many interviewed teachers complained about the quality of monitoring.

6.4.3 Supporting Materials

The ME policy is to provide supporting materials for schools to facilitate the teachers' jobs and enable students to better understand the subject. However, the schools remain in critical need of supporting materials. There were complaints from teachers and head teachers about supporting materials. One HE teacher stated that, "we need supporting materials, the school maps are torn, very old and cannot be used, so we have to provide one and buy it from our pocket".¹⁰³ Another teacher stated that she was "using her iPad in the class as a supporting material".¹⁰⁴

In addition to other material needs in schools, classrooms are very poorly equipped. They are overcrowded and lack heating in winter and air conditioning in summer. One teacher in Sulaimaniyah stated that "students cannot study because of the lack of heating and unhygienic environment".¹⁰⁵

The HRE teachers' situation was worse than others in terms of lack of supporting material. They have only the students' HRE textbook to use as a resource and no HRE

¹⁰¹ Interview with a teacher in Sulaimaniyah school 18/12/2012

¹⁰² As of August 2014, the ME decided to remove monitors who do not hold BA degrees and to ensure monitors of foundation schools all hold BA degrees. However, the conflict that started earlier in 2014 will make implementation problematic.

¹⁰³ Interview with a teacher in Duhok school 09/12/2012

¹⁰⁴ Interview with a teacher in Erbil school 18/12/2012

¹⁰⁵ Interview with a teacher in Sulaimaniyah school 19/12/2012

resources specifically for the teachers. None of the schools that the researcher visited had more resources than this. The PDA survey of 2007/2008 showed that 39% of teachers have read no other resources than the HRE textbook and 24% stated they have read one resource (PDA 2008). In 2007, the United States Institute of Peace (USIP) in cooperation with the ME for Erbil and the national Iraq ME in Baghdad published a guidebook for teachers of social studies subjects. However, only one of the 40 teachers interviewed stated that they even knew about it and he could not use it because it is written in Kurdish Sorani dialect. Despite the fact that the guidebook was completed in Arabic in 2007, there is still no Badinani language edition (Levine and Bishai 2010:9). The book is written as general guidelines for teachers and is not specific to any school textbook and there are differences between the social studies contents for the KRG areas and other parts of Iraq. It consists of 238 pages and is intended for all teachers of foundation grade four to grade nine of social sciences education and national education throughout the whole of Iraq. However, it would have been more useful to produce a HRE guidebook where everything was at hand: each unit could contain HRE contents and reference topic contents, enrichment activities, resources such as stories to be read, and advice on how it can be taught and assessed without any need for any additional material.

The lack of good organization and coordination was evident among all the parties involved in the education system. When the researcher asked Khairi, the director of teacher supervision in Duhok district, as to why teachers do not have the guidebook, he stated: "We made 1,000 copies and we have given one copy to each school, maybe the teachers of social studies took the book with them when they were transferred to another school".¹⁰⁶ When the researcher asked why there was no translation into Kurdish Badinani, Khairi stated, "We plan to translate it to Kurdish Badinani, we admit that many teachers cannot understand Sorani dialect, the book is written in Sorani dialect that is very difficult to understand it, I myself find it difficult to understand it".¹⁰⁷

6.4.4 Evaluation and Follow Up

The CDD, currently with the PDA, has been doing an annual evaluation of the HRE program since 2007. The evaluation is made by means of a questionnaire survey for HRE teachers, students and parents and a report of the findings, suggestions and

¹⁰⁶ Interview director of supervision of Dohuk 06/01/2013

¹⁰⁷ Interview director of supervision of Dohuk 06/01/2013

recommendations are presented to the ME every year after the evaluation. The interviewee, Bakhtiar, a worker for CDO NGO, participated in the writing of the first draft of the HRE curriculum. In reference to supervising the first evaluation, he stated that,

"We did the evaluation and wrote our suggestions and gave recommendations to the ME, but none of the recommendations were realised. The HRE has to be rewritten; this was one of the recommendations. But, it is unfortunate, even the same spelling mistakes of the first year edition have not been corrected".¹⁰⁸

Thus, since the introduction of the subject, the subject material has not changed even though changing the HRE syllabus was also one of the recommendations of the December 2012 conference. The surveys demonstrated the success and the interest of students and most teachers of HRE. For example, in the 2007/2008 survey, 81% of the teachers stated that it had a positive effect in changing the students' behaviour (PDA 2008:12). Teachers in one focus group asserted that "there is an obvious reduction of violence among students after the introduction of HRE".¹⁰⁹ The survey of 2012/2013 also showed that 92% of students see the HRE as an important subject (PDA 2013:6). Furthermore, teaching HRE led to a reduction in violence perpetrated against students by teachers. This was obvious during the field visit as many teachers complained that many students resisted teacher's violence and they are aware of their rights. Bakhtiar, the CDO NGO worker, stated that,

"HRE is not a holy book that cannot be changed, I was one of the participants in making the curricula; at that time I had only two years of experience in working in the field of HR, and I had not been outside the country. If I were to write the HRE now, I would write it differently because now I have been working for 10 years and I have been for many training courses outside the country and I am sure the other participants have done the same".¹¹⁰

HRE education is the only subject evaluated and this might be a consequence of the follow up actions of the INGOs. However, if the ME is not interested in changing

¹⁰⁸ Interview with Bakhtiar, CDO NGO coordinator 19/12/2012

¹⁰⁹ Interview with teachers' focus group in Duhok school 06/12/2012

¹¹⁰ Interview with Bakhtiar, CDO NGO coordinator 19/12/2012

anything, then what is the purpose of the yearly evaluation survey. The evaluation has been carried out to assess the implementation of some inputs; but the recommendations and evaluations are the same every year and it will stay the same if things are not changed.

6.5 The Role of Teachers in the Curricula Making Process

Although they are an important factor in the process of education, teachers do not have a significant role in the process of making and designing the curricula. The majority of teachers interviewed expressed feelings of marginalisation from the process of curricula development. One HE teacher stated, "We only know from the head teacher that the curricula are changed and we do not know until we get it and later training will be provided about the changes".¹¹¹ One teacher in Sulaimaniyah stated that their views were overlooked and explained that, "Before the ME changed the curricula, it called for a general meeting to find out our suggestions and recommendations. But our recommendations are not taken seriously - many times we have asked that something should be left out and some text omitted, but the ME did not listen".¹¹²

However, the ME does involve some qualified monitors to represent the teachers in making curricula. One ME representative stated that, "the ME found it difficult to involve all the 18,000 teachers in the making of HE".¹¹³ But teachers were not satisfied with the ME's policy of lack of inclusion in the curricula development. Moreover, while the ME policy allows all teachers to write to the ME if they have any concerns about the curricula, recommendations for corrections of the curricula have seldom been implemented.

6.6 The Role of Students and Parents in the Curricula Making Process

The ME policy attaches importance to student involvement in the development process. During the yearly evaluation process, questionnaires are distributed to students who are asked about their interests and opinions relating to the curricula. The CDD also takes into consideration the age of the students and their standards of education when making the curricula. Moreover, as was previously stated, the ME tries to make the subject matter interesting to the students. However, although in the 2007/2008 evaluation, 81% of

¹¹¹ Interview with a teacher in Duhok school 06/12/2012

¹¹² Interview with a teacher in Sulaimaniyah school 19/12/2012

¹¹³ Interview with an ME official 07/01/2013

students stated that the HRE is important to their daily life, in the 2012/2013 evaluation, only 45% stated that the HRE curricula was relevant and only 28% of students stated that many of the texts related to the social reality of Kurdistan (PDA 2012/2013).

The ME attached little importance to the parents' involvement in the process of education; although in the new education system it states that teachers have to contact parents every week by post (Education and Learning 2008:239). It is very difficult to accomplish this as most teachers have four to five classes every day. It also states that the evaluation questionnaires are for parents too. However, the researcher did not see any indication of parental participation in the process. In addition, most of the teachers whom the researcher interviewed complained about the non-cooperation of parents with the schools and recommended that more cooperative relationships must be built between the parents and school. Thus, parents must be provided with peace supporting materials to help them raise their children in a peaceful environment.

Hogr, the PAO coordinator stated: "Non-cooperation between parents and schools leads to the imbalances of information between parents and students. These days parents cannot negotiate with children, parents cannot understand children, parents lose in discussions with students, therefore, they do not discuss, because most of the parents are illiterate".¹¹⁴ Moreover, the policies of schools hinder the involvement of parents. For example, the policy of the school is to have general meetings where the head teacher publicly announces the students' results. This might cause embarrassment to the parents. Hence, this lack of respect for privacy makes parents less willing to come to schools.

Another of the ME's stated aims is to make schooling accessible to all by providing schools in cities and villages and the KRG and INGOs made great efforts to realize this. For example, 1,465 new schools were constructed between 2006 and 2011 (Erbil 290, Sulaimaniyah 762, Duhok 382, and Garman 31).¹¹⁵ The merging of primary and secondary schools has also helped in reducing the number of schools required. According to Alquarani, the percentage of children going to school is on the increase: for boys, it reached 95% in cities and 93% in villages and for girls, 87% in cities and 88% for in villages. There are 3,047 foundation schools in cities and 1,506 schools in villages and almost all villages now have schools.¹¹⁶ However, there is still a need for more schools, as well as refurbishing the existing ones, as according to ME statistics there are 1,677 schools

¹¹⁴ Interview with Hogr, PAO NGO representative 17/12/2012

¹¹⁵ Interview with ME official 17/12/2012

¹¹⁶ Interview with ME official 17/12/2012

that are on double shifts and 221 have triple shifts (ME statistic document 2012). As Hamdi, an ME consultant, stated: "the KRG need about 5,000 schools to be able to end the double and triple shifts of schools. Moreover, there are a large number of unfit buildings and of schools that need extension and refurbishment and there are also some schools made of mud".¹¹⁷

In terms of gender equity and access to education, the KRG has made efforts in guaranteeing equal access to education for both girls and boys. In 2006, the KRG issued a directive that enables young women, who left school at an early age and want to continue their education, to be admitted and exempted from age restrictions.

"Schools or classes will be opened for accelerated learning programmes. Students should not be younger than 9 for boys starting at grade 1 and not older than 20 whilst the girls should not be younger than 9 starting at grade 1 and not older than 24."
(KRG 2009, 13, Article 15)

This article recognizes the cultural Kurdish disadvantages associated with girls' schools (UNESCO 2011). Moreover, the KRG's efforts has succeeded in raising female enrolment; the Kurdistan region now has the highest access to girls' schools in Iraq, and Duhok city has the highest girls' school attendance (UNICEF 2010).

The lack of schools and their modernisation is largely a consequence of the poor situation inherited in 1991, including the economic sanctions imposed on Iraq and the destruction of villages at the hands of Iraqi regime. Further challenges resulted from internal conflicts between the two main political parties and many INGOs leaving the area because of the lack of free movement. Thus, the real start after the regime change in 2003 was the big investments by USAID, UNICEF and other UN NGOs for rebuilding the education system in Iraq. According to the ME supervisor of HRE, "UNICEF supports the child-friendly schools, UNESCO are concerned with building preparatory teacher capacities through training teachers of preparatory schools and NPA is concerned with HRE program".¹¹⁸

The KRG have made schooling compulsory for children from the age of six to the age of 15 and consequently need to allow a large budget to equip schools with modern

¹¹⁷ Interview with ME official 17/12/2012

¹¹⁸ Interview with ME official 03/06/2013

education materials. One step towards encouraging attendance has been to merge primary and secondary schools into foundation schools so as to reduce the numbers of drop out students from schools. According to the ME:

"Before, when there were primary and secondary schools, there were Baccalaureate national exams at Year 6 and many students were failing these exams and leaving school, and their scientific level, their capacities and skills were too weak to enable them to work in the outside market"¹¹⁹.

Thus, the merging of schools made schools more efficient and enabled more students to pass exams and finish their schooling with employable skills. This was the main objective of the new education system for schools (Education and Learning 2008:236).

The ME policy is that all students should study HRE, on the grounds that the subject is designed to change the students' behaviour, and it should be made attractive to students. Consequently there are no exams. As Bar-Tal (2002) argues, tests and examinations usually used in schools are unsuitable for the evaluation of peace education outcomes because they do not evaluate knowledge acquired rather than a state of mind. However, all the interviewed teachers disagreed with the policy of the ME, arguing that students do not bother unless they know there are pass and fail requirements.

To address these concerns, the ME requested teachers to tell the students that there are fail and pass standards and to have examinations for the students to scare them into studying, but to pass all students. Although this has been introduced, it is ineffective; as one teacher stated, "We tell students that if you do not study you will fail but they know that we're lying to them".¹²⁰ Thus, this policy increases the lack of trust between the students and teachers. Moreover, the teachers and schools do not attach great importance to the subject because all students will pass and some teachers even used the 30 minutes class of HRE to teach other subjects that are examinable. However, there is an overall acceptance of HRE demonstrated by the results of the surveys conducted by PDA. It is also revealed that students see the importance of the subject and its relevance to them. Nevertheless, the schools system in IK still prioritizes other subjects because the students have to go through examination process.

¹¹⁹ Interview with ME official 17/12/12

¹²⁰ Interview with a teacher in Duhok school 09/12/2012

6.7 The Plans of the Ministry of Education

The plan of the ME is to continue working with INGOs and local NGOs to support the HRE and to train more teachers. One of the ME officials supported this view, explaining that they “have plans to train teachers in HRE, even to train the head teachers ... [and] plans to train teachers in methods of teaching too”.¹²¹

Furthermore, the Human Rights Committee (HRC), the ME and the NPA have plans to open HRE departments in universities as a means to remedy the lack of experts and the lack of training for teachers. This was mentioned during interviews with the HRC coordinator.

Both the ME and the NGOs aim to use modern equipment and technology to promote HRE. However, most schools lack the expertise to operate such facilities. One ME representative stated that “we are now trying to make the 5th grade textbook using animated movies, which are recorded on CDs and distributed to teachers and students. Thus, students will be able to watch at home. Teachers of other subjects may use it too and we hope to put it on YouTube”.¹²² However, all schools that the researcher visited only had one computer for school administration work, and the majority of teachers and students may not have computers at home.

In order to make schools more receptive to HRE, the ME has taken a new initiative, with the help of UNICEF, to open Child Friendly Schools (CFSs). According to the HRE supervisor in the ME, CFSs provide learning in a healthy, protected and safe environment for children. He explained that “CFSs ensure respect for children’s rights and that children are able to live in peace regardless to their nationality, ethnicity, cultural and linguistic differences”.¹²³ Thus, they are academically different and more effective as the teachers have more resources as well as more training, and the environment is safer for children emotionally, psychologically and physically. The parents would be more engaged and involved in all aspects of school policy, management and support for children. The supervisor further stated that “the project of CFSs has been adopted and supported by ME with the support of UNICEF. This year the ME managed to open 83 CFSs and the ME is

¹²¹ Interview with an ME official 23/12/2012

¹²² Interview with an ME official 23/12/2012

¹²³ Interview with an ME official 03/06/2013

intended to open another 116 more next year to make it a total of 200 schools as a pilot phase for other schools to follow their role models ”.¹²⁴

This presents a very positive step although some interviewees doubted the quality of the CFSs. Transforming 116 normal schools into such greatly improved institutions is an immense task especially as the teachers are the same teachers and the infrastructure of the buildings, including sanitation and playgrounds, has not been changed. Similarly, improving the quality of teachers and head teachers surely requires much more than one training class of several days duration. Possibly it would be more effective to take fewer schools in the pilot phase so as to be able to ensure that these schools truly were transformed into CFSs; and then to apply a similar strategy to additional schools.

6.8 Conclusion

Publicly, the ME shows great interest in developing HRE and its work is presented as a great success. It has devoted much effort to developing the curriculum and demonstrated its willingness to coordinate and cooperate with INGOs and local NGOs. Thus, it appears that, at the highest level, it has established good working partnerships with the other parties involved and working closely with them in organising workshops, holding conferences, discussing lessons learned and sharing information. In addition, the ME has organised workshops and training for teachers as well as TOT workshops. However, in practice the HRE and HE in IK has many shortcomings, such as insufficient training and lack of support materials.

In its efforts to improve the situation, the ME faces numerous challenges. The most critical is the lack of commitment and cooperation from decision-makers, as well as teachers, and parents. Furthermore, a top-down approach is used with the KRG working to implement peace education values against strong resistance from teachers and parents. However, political and financial interests, coupled with pressure from the international community, all serve to encourage the government to attach importance to HRE since its success will enhance its reputation. Moreover, the program is financed and supported by INGOs but there is no clear sustainability plan.

All in all, the ME is interested in transforming society as it has been consistent in implementing the HRE curriculum ‘against all odds’ and the program has demonstrated its

¹²⁴ Interview with an ME official 03/06/2013

success. The results of the evaluations confirm this success, as indicated by the high percentage of students that stated that the program had increased their respect for HR (PDA 2008:19). This is only the start of the program which has not been introduced long and the process is a lengthy and holistic one aimed at creating such significant transformation in changing attitudes, systems and structures.

As Eisler (2000) explains, learners are “educated” through three different elements: firstly, by the processes of the school structure, which has been elaborated upon in this chapter. Secondly, through the curriculum contents, as will be elaborated in the next two chapters which explore whether the contents are in accordance with PE values. Thirdly, through the pedagogy of teaching as will be discussed in Chapter Nine to demonstrate how the contents are transmitted to students.

Chapter Seven: Analysis of Human Rights Education

This item has been removed due to 3rd party copyright. The unabridged version of the thesis can be viewed in the Lanchester Library Coventry University.

Foucault and Swyer (1971)

This item has been removed due to 3rd party copyright. The unabridged version of the thesis can be viewed in the Lanchester Library Coventry University.

Illustration 1: Cover of Fifth Year HRE textbook

7.0 Introduction

Having given an overview of the socio-political and educational background against which peace education is implemented; this chapter provides an analysis of the knowledge, values and skills included in the schools' HRE curriculum, based on Fairclough's (2001) method as set out in Chapter Three. It elaborates on how this knowledge accommodates the cultural norms of the society and on the prospects for transformation and how it is fulfilling the aims of PE as described in Chapter Two.

In 2006, the unity government of IK began its term by first focusing on economic development and infrastructure and later on educational reforms. As part of these, it introduced HRE into schools for the fifth and seventh years and extended compulsory education from six to nine years. Whilst the fifth formers' textbook is more focused on imparting values and concepts rather than application, the contents of the seventh year textbook are more dedicated to studying HR concepts and the evolution of HR development, but again neglecting application. Thus, there is a certain amount of repetition in terms of themes and information in the textbooks for each year. The categorisation of the themes, as described in the methodology, revealed that the HRE curriculum for years Five and Seven focuses on the following themes: equality, freedom of choice and speech, dignity, solidarity, loyalty to family and nation, the right to life, human needs, non-discrimination, individual rights, freedom of religion, rights and responsibility, nonviolence, participation, clean environment, ending child labour, the rights to education, citizenship and right to self-determination. However, a major problem is that students have to learn about rights and responsibilities by memorising them and information about the transformation of this knowledge into values and skills is lacking. Each right is written in a big font as a heading at the top of the page with pictures below it to illustrate the meaning.

Throughout the analysis, I was aware that as I was from the dominant group people from marginalized groups may have felt afraid to talk freely and instead give socially acceptable responses rather than disclosing their views and experience to a person in a dominant position with different opinions. However, as I had studied in Europe, people of marginalized groups considered me as an outsider studying in UK who would feel sympathy toward their marginalization and therefore they actually talked freely. On the other hand, a true outsider would have less understanding and comprehension of marginalized people experiences and their social context and, as HRE is often distrusted as

a Western imposition, it was particularly important that I was an insider when talking to people about the subject.

This chapter is structured so as to reflect the themes in HRE that fifth and seventh year textbooks studied in IK schools. Firstly, it introduces the two approaches to conceptualising representations of knowledge, the stabiliser view and the conflict resolution view.¹²⁵ It describes the knowledge that the students are given including both the ‘overt’ and ‘hidden’ curricula, as well as the ‘null’ curriculum, as discussed in Chapter Three. This part of the analysis also refers to the prevalent discursive practices that form the social context of that knowledge. Following this, it considers the challenges faced by students and teachers in fostering HRE knowledge, skills and values, and practices that can hinder or transform assimilation of PE into daily life. Moreover, it analyses the implications of the knowledge, values, and skills for the wider society, whilst the next chapter will analyse the content of the HE textbooks using CDA.

7.1 The Stabiliser and Conflict Resolution Views

Two major approaches to understanding and conceptualizing the dissemination of the HRE curricula are referred to in this chapter: the stabiliser view and the conflict resolution view. The first, the stabiliser viewpoint, is more traditionalist in nature and more concerned with cultural, classical and tribal issues. The second represents a conflict resolution orientated worldview that relates to constructionist, transformative methods of learning, involving analytical discourse and education intended as a form of liberation. This constructionist approach is most useful in analysing the contents of HRE as it enables an exploration of the effects of context, history and social capacity (Miall, 2007: 85); as well as their transformative potential.

7.1.1 The Stabiliser Viewpoint

The stabiliser perspective is generally supported by groups and individuals who are satisfied with the current situation because they are in a dominant position and benefit from the status quo in regard to privileges and positions of power. It seldom allows any alternative or egalitarian understanding of reality. Teachers who believe that they will lose social power with the introduction of a new education system exemplify this.

¹²⁵ Author’s own terms

Its supporters seek to maintain the traditional cultural norms of society from one generation to another without change. The knowledge and discourses embedded in the approach are the cultural norms of the majority of people such as elders' speech, cultural rituals, proverbs, statements, stories and stereotypes. These are deemed legitimate knowledge and practices are accepted and practiced every day. As Jørgensen and Philips (2002:36-37) explain, such hegemonic discourses that stabilise meaning are prevalent in this approach, creating and reinforcing the dominance of one particular perspective. Hence, when there is no other knowledge to contradict this, either because people are uninformed (due to indoctrination) or because they are illiterate, people accept the dominant knowledge without questioning its validity having grown up with it as a way of life. Supporters may actually be oppressed themselves, waiting for an opportunity to occupy positions of power; hence, they are resistant to change in the system. The majority in society tend to support this view as it argues that change will worsen conditions and may further destabilise the situation. Consequently, attempts to challenge the discourses involved can be very challenging and attract stigmatization.

The stabiliser view requires people to conform to the cultural norms of the majority as this creates a sense of unity and seemingly leads to a more peaceful and cooperative society. Therefore, it resists any other knowledge that might lead to changing people's behaviour and values. In relation to this, Gibson (1986) argues that since schools in all developed countries are provided and sponsored by the state, they are consciously set up and funded in the belief that they will support and maintain state aims and beliefs.

7.1.2 The Conflict Resolution View

This item has been removed due to 3rd party copyright. President Barack Obama¹²⁶

The supporters of this approach are most likely to be those who wish to change the current oppressive situation as reflected in the forms of structural, cultural, or direct violence in society.

It is especially relevant to education as it facilitates exposing hidden violence inherent in the structure of society and provides opportunities to discuss it; thus, granting a means to explore its root causes and possible resolution. HRE in IK schools is based on

¹²⁶ Presidential Inaugural Address delivered 20 January 2009, in Washington, D.C. on YouTube, [online] available from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MjUTymL1T5s> and [feature=related](#) [Accessed 10/11/2009]

this approach. It has been developed through the transformative learning theory of Mezirow that describes the process by which previously uncritically accepted assumptions, beliefs, values, and perspectives are questioned and thereby become more open, permeable, and better validated (Mezirow 1991, 2000). Critical reflection is the core concept of this, allowing examination of many cultural beliefs, practices and values that had been accepted as habit and consequently not discussed openly. This enables awareness of how cultural, historical, and biographical beliefs and feelings have clearly structured assumptions and expectations (Mezirow 2000: xii). Hence, by applying transformative learning theory, HRE can enhance students' skills of critical thinking and consciousness.

In this context, Laclau and Mouffe's theory of discourse analysis is very useful in that it approaches reality as 'discursively constituted' and consequently facilitates analysis of all aspects of the world (Jørgensen and Philips 2002: 177). As discourse is understood to shape and give meaning to people's worldview, the role of alternative discourses in demonstrating that there is never only one discourse, and in changing practices and social relations, is fundamental to social change (Jørgensen and Philips 2002, Foucault 1984). As Foucault argues, "no particular social ordering can ever be absolute or eternal. It means there will always be resistance, revolt, struggle against socially imposed constraints, renewed dialogue and the transformation of social forms" (Foucault, quoted in Falzon 1998:52). Thus, changes are always happening so people need to ensure they are beneficial rather than simply react to them. Consequently, HRE can foster enthusiasm and hope within students that things can be transformed.

Learning skills and values involved in HRE enables students and teachers to formulate better arguments, and be more clearly aware of the discourses involved, when challenging traditional cultural views. Because HRE is new in IK people only know about the rights the government has over people, not vice versa. However, knowledge is power and power relations are changeable (Foucault 1984, Flyvbjerg 2001, Laclau and Mouffe 2001). Learning HRE skills and values will enable students and teachers to have better arguments through more effective discourses when challenging culturally traditional views. Furthermore, scholars argue that knowledge, and consequently power, comes through interaction and everyone involved in the interaction possesses power because they are part of the concomitant relationship. In this way power always involves two-way interactions (Giddens 1979).

There are four premises shared by constructionist approaches that inform HRE:

"First, the *critical view of taking things for granted*, that is our worldview, is not an objective reflection of the world. Thinking how things are fixed through social practices and they become as they are natural. Second, *our knowledge is historical and cultural specific* (time-framed); this means that our worldview is historically situated and it can be changed over time. Third, *link between knowledge and cultural processes*. This means our view that is made through social interaction in which we construct common truths and compete about what is false and true. Fourth, *link between knowledge and social action*. This means that within a particular worldview, some forms of action become natural, others unthinkable" (Jørgensen and Philips 2002, quoted in Burr 1995: 5).

Thus, the structure of society is human-made, and so may be transformed.

Consequently, structural and cultural violence of IK society can be understood as a struggle between competing discourses underlying the societal order that is presently taken for granted and producing deep asymmetries and unequal relations between human beings. The task of HRE is to make students empowered with skills that enable them to critically analyse the context, envision the problems and risks that they may face and indicate how things may be done differently. It also enables them to understand that there are other interpretations of their reality. A salient question here is: Do the ME, teachers and parents really want to impart skills of critical thinking? If yes, they have to understand that students might challenge and defend issues they find unfair and to recognise their fear that children's rights may be seen in opposition to their own.

7.2. Research Findings: Applying Stage One of the CDA

To conduct the CDA of the contents of the HRE curriculum, the author applied the three stages of analysis described in Section 3.6.2. In Stage One, the description of the text that constitutes the research findings, I firstly searched for words such as rights, responsibilities, equality, justice, classification, peace, dignity, respect, religion, conflict, security, oppression, domination, gender, discrimination, violence, women, girls, boys and names of ethnic groups. These were represented as columns in a table as described in Chapter Three. For the images, these columns included the illustration number,

male/female, and the message expressed. I then noted the frequency of these words, whether their meaning changed with each use or remained the same.

This process indicated that the HRE textbooks mentioned knowledge relating to the following: the UDHR, rights and responsibilities, freedom of belief and expression, equality, justice, anti-violence, children's rights, and violation of human rights. It also referred to the values of respect for others, sharing, caring for the environment, and tolerance. All of these constituted the overt curriculum. However, although there was a prevalence of references to the UDHR, these were presented as if they were specifically global issues and of no relevance to IK society, particularly so in relation to rights and responsibilities. For example, women were mentioned as if they have equal status and free socialisation with men, which contradicts IK normal social practices. Many other oppressive cultural practices concerning women are not mentioned in the textbooks: highly restrictive social roles, domestic violence, honour killing, female genital mutilation, enforced suicide (self-immolation), female genital mutilation, polygamy, forced and exchange marriage, and violence against children. The possibility of making complaints was mentioned but with no indication as to how, when, or to whom students could complain. Moreover, there was little reference to inequalities, injustices and oppressive practices, including social injustices and violence and discrimination against women and children, which are all prevalent in IK. These were neither found in the textbooks nor observed in classroom discussions, thus, contributing to the null curriculum.

At this stage, being insider could have limited objectivity because familiarity with the culture and consequent assumptions of prior knowledge and experiences can make it difficult to distance oneself from the subject. To minimise any bias on my part, I kept a personal reflection diary and continually engaged in self-reflection throughout the analysis. However, familiarity with the language was a great advantage.

In the next section, I discuss the interpretation of these research findings in more detail according to specific themes identified through Stage One (See Appendix F), thus, applying Stage Two of the CDA.

7.3 Interpretation of the HRE Curriculum Contents

It is impossible to understand the implications of the textbook contents without awareness of the null curricula and the taken-for-granted discourses that pervade the education system. Consequently, this section discusses the findings in the overt HRE curriculum in

relation to accepted international and national social discourses and educational practices.

As HRE is a new subject in IK, being an outsider was a great advantage as I had more awareness of how it could be used in reality than I could gain without living and studying in Europe. I was also of IHR, which meant I could notice discrepancies between these and the concepts presented in IK. On the other hand, allowing for the risk of bias as discussed above, familiarity with the social and cultural area of study was another important advantage. This is liable to be more superficial, less aware of anomalies or changes in attitude and more open to misinterpretation when the researcher is not from the same culture as the case study.

7.3.1 Rights and Responsibilities

"People who do not know their rights are more vulnerable to having them abused and often lack the language and conceptual framework to effectively advocate for them." Banks (2001:1).

HRE is based on the principle of rights and responsibilities that people have towards themselves and one another; this is confirmed many times in the textbooks. It is essential that people are aware of their rights and responsibilities for society to live in peaceful coexistence as such awareness fosters equality, understanding, commitment, self-esteem, respect between people and the refusal to accept rights violations. Consequently, the HRE topics are drawn from the UDHR, presumably with the aim that introducing HRE will foster equality and harmonisation among the different ethnic groups in IK. Moreover, international law obliges the government to provide facilities and support to make people aware of universal human rights. However, the effectiveness of this depends on its implementation. For example, it is stated in the fifth year textbook that "every human being has dignity therefore all human beings need to live in peace, brotherhood, and mutual respect with others".¹²⁷ It also states in the textbooks that the students should write this statement in their notebooks and bring it to the next lesson. Students are expected to go home and read it as they will be asked about it in a following session. It is also hoped that students' parents will look at it and learn about HR. However, in the observation, the researcher found that teachers asked many students to read the statement without actually elaborating further on its meaning. When asked if they could elaborate more and introduce examples, the interviewed teachers argued that the book is written in Kurdish *Badinani* dialect so students could understand it, adding that it is not maths and did not need further

¹²⁷ Page14 of the 5th year textbook.

elaboration. These expectations and practices are part of the taken-for-granted discourses that are highly influential although not overtly stated in the curriculum.

Teaching about rights is a challenging task. As explained in detail in Chapter Eight, teachers find the concepts difficult to understand so they teach the text without questions, reflections or elaboration. Students have to memorise their rights for their exams but the textbooks do not explain how to apply them in the classroom. To do this, students need to think critically and bring up issues and examples of rights violation. Teachers complain about lack of autonomy in teaching and discussing issues, and that they are instructed to teach only the textbooks' contents. In a focus group interview, one teacher criticised the ME's policy thus, "the teachers know better what students need to know; hence, they should be given more freedom".¹²⁸

During the observation the researcher found that the teachers were teaching these rights as if they were teaching about another society. Meanwhile, the students were passive, docile listeners. There were also significant gaps in the textbook contents. For example, they do not mention the factors that hinder implementation of these rights, such as the patriarchal nature of Kurdish society. While addressing these factors would make students more aware, the textbooks indicate that there are no such obstacles.

Respecting one another is prescribed in the textbooks but for students to learn this they need to practice it with each other and with teachers since values mainly become assimilated through socialisation. Students also need to learn about other cultures and communities and practices to avoid prejudice and stereotyping. In IK society, as in other societies, there are various negative stereotypes about people from other tribes and communities. All these stereotypes have deep roots in society and are practiced with little questioning or challenge and so have become legitimised by cultural and religion norms. Negative religious stereotypes towards Yezidis are especially strong because they are not Muslims. Therefore, people believe that Muslims are forbidden to eat their food. Such stereotypes and practices that people have taken for granted needed to be discussed but there is no place for this.

Teachers were also unaware that children are influenced by the surrounding environment when developing ideas, attitudes and behaviour. The school environment, the teachers' relationship with students and other colleagues all need to be conducive to developing HRE knowledge, values and behaviour; however, this is lacking in IK schools.

¹²⁸ Interview with a teacher in a focus group in Duhok 10/12/2012.

Thus, there are contradictions between the contents that teachers teach and the practice and behaviour of teachers.

There is also a gap between the universal principles of HR presented in the HRE textbooks and those in the Kurdistan Constitution, which are not universal, but the two are not compared, thus forming part of the null curriculum that makes it impossible for students to understand HR in the IK context. The fifth year textbook states that "students learn about HR, awareness of the international laws, awareness of HR violations, to respect other communities, and to protect other people's rights, and cooperate with all".¹²⁹ Misgeld (1994) argues that knowing about human rights is a right in itself. Moreover, people need knowledge about their rights to work proactively toward developing them (Sime 1994). They also need to accept responsibility to protect their own and others' rights, which is why it is important for HR to be universal. If learners attitudes toward other groups are changed this can lead to a more tolerant and conflict-constructive society.

Inculcating global values to students was the aim given by the majority of peace educators around the world in response to a questionnaire about "eliciting the goals, challenges and the future of Peace Education".¹³⁰ They emphasised paying attention to changing the role of individuals to awareness of "global perspectives, ability to generate alternative visions, intercultural awareness, insight into present injustice, lack of equality in the world society and readiness to work for justice and more equal distribution" (Brock-Utne 1995:56). It is especially important for people to have access to universal values when IK is entering a new phase of global economy; thus, the KRG wanted to introduce international education standards. Global values are important locally too as they can teach children to appreciate, respect and value other people. The following issues require special attention.

i) Religious Freedom

"Freedom is the essence of man. And freedom can be learned." Machado (1980:11)

How can people be free to choose their own beliefs and express their opinions freely? The freedom to practice religion and the importance of not making religion a source for violence is mentioned in one textbook.¹³¹ However, in the field observations of classes, the

¹²⁹ Page 3 of 5th year textbook. Article 37 of the KRG Constitution states that everyone has the right to enjoy the rights set out in any treaties, agreements, charters or declarations ratified and acceded to by Iraq.

¹³⁰ Conducted by Ake Bjerstedt (1992) with the Peace Education Commission (PEC)

¹³¹ Page 12 of 5th year textbook

teacher retells what the textbook states without bringing in students' experiences although the challenge to do so is a main implication of the concept since students learn about being tolerant and open to other people and their beliefs. Moreover, in the curricula for the other school subjects, one reality and one religious discourse are presented, whereby Islam is accepted as legitimate knowledge and the true religion. People in IK are born to their religious and ethnic group and there is no open dialogue and discussion among followers of different religions. People avoid talking about religion and it is considered taboo to criticise religious practices as challenging religious texts and their validity, or giving different interpretations, can cause offense and tension. There is very little social interaction amongst different religious and ethnic groups and low tolerance in interfaith dialogue.

The concept of freedom is misused and has led some to despise principles of freedom, considering them a Western concept and imperialist ideology aimed at weakening Islam. Others use them as a pretext to exploit and abuse other people's rights. For example, employers undermine labour rights by letting staff work for more than their legal hours on the grounds that they pay them and they are free to do so. Others insist on their right to marry more than one woman.

There are various contradictions between international human rights (IHR) and Islamic perspectives concerning free thinking and beliefs. IHR assert that individuals should have freedom of thought and belief while Islamic law places restrictions on both; for example, on homosexuality. Furthermore, while there are laws relating to domestic violence, women's freedom and polygamy, there are serious challenges to implementing these in IK society as they contradict people's assumptions about religious doctrine.

INGOs and local NGOs provide training and capacity-building relating to human rights specifically for religious leaders in IK. Kurdistan Save the Children (KSC), in Sulaimaniyah conducted such trainings. In interview, their officer stated that "they have cooperated with Ministry of Religions in Kurdistan to train religious leaders".¹³²

The structure of the schools and society makes the differences inherent in society more institutionalised and systemised. IK society is conservative in nature and HRE is viewed as a challenge to religion. This viewpoint is reinforced by some peace education research that indicates that religion has been an opponent of human rights (Gearon 2002),

¹³² Interview with Salar, a worker in the media section of a Kurdistan child protection centre, Sulaimaniyah branch, 26/12/12.

and by HRE's support of the freedom to be an atheist and to express an opinion contradicting Islamic law.

However, religion can play a vital role in promoting peace and there are many religious peace values in IK, such as sharing food and helping the poor. It is important that the curricula includes knowledge about other religions in the curricula of schools and promotes values of openness, tolerance, compassion and empathy towards other people living in the communities and foster skills of reflection, rational and critical thinking and communication.

However, such advances are at odds with the discourses used by religion leaders in IK which lack tolerance and whose knowledge of the Islamic scriptures needs to be reinterpreted to adapt to the contemporary context. For example, many leaders do not agree with equality of men and women, which is supported in the textbooks.¹³³ Also, the sharing of inheritance between men and women differs in the UDHR and in Islamic law and the cultural context; whilst the inferiority of women and children is supported by specific entrenched interpretations of religious discourses although these may not actually be founded in religion.

ii) Gender

The curricula of HRE lacked gender sensitivity in many ways especially in terms of the null curriculum. Indeed, women were only mentioned in connection with theoretical gender equality; and without describing how this may be achieved and the challenges involved.

In terms of the images in the fifth year HRE textbook, although there are equal numbers of men and women, the women are represented as free and equal with men and so do not relate to the real situation for Kurdish women. There are 35 pictures in the HRE fifth year books, 11 show both men and women, 6 show only men, and 2 only women; moreover, there are no pictures of men and women together in the HRE seventh year textbook. The values presented in the mixed-sex images emphasise liberty, freedom of women to associate with men, and equality. However, none of the pictures relate to students' immediate environment and the pervasive inequality between male and female, as the textbooks show the genders socialising freely.

¹³³ Page 19 of 7th year textbook.

Similarly, women receive more severe punishment than men for adultery and knowledge of this is absent from the texts; as are the implications of the honour of the family and tribe resting on women. Moreover, culturally accepted sayings, such as "women have to be controlled", serve to reinforce restrictions on women's mobilization and freedom.

This item has been removed due to 3rd party copyright. The unabridged version of the thesis can be viewed in the Lanchester Library Coventry University.

Illustration 2: Unrestricted gender relations

Women's right to marry voluntarily is mentioned briefly in the seventh year textbook where it states that "both parties have to agree, the age has to be 15 and more, the marriage registration has to be in court and the state has to facilitate the marriage".¹³⁴ It is important for students not only to be aware of this but of how to insist on it, given the prevalence of forced marriage and exchange in marriage.

Hence, again, the texts do not relate to the reality experienced by the students, and lack adequate information for students to be able to debate and discuss solutions, or to defend violated rights.

iii) Basic Human Needs

There are certain basic needs that people require to enable them to fulfil their potential. Scholars, such as Galtung (1990) and Burton (1979, 1990) have linked the

¹³⁴ Pages 5, 16 and 32 of 7th year textbook.

realisation of these needs with peaceful coexistence. They argue that the denying access to political and economic participation, and the consequent feelings of insecurity, may lead to frustration, destabilization and violent conflicts. The importance of fulfilling basic human needs is indicated in the textbooks, which refer to "human needs, include physical needs such as water, food, shelter and safety and psychological needs such as security and comfort".¹³⁵ Elsewhere they mention that "the human has the right to express their opinions freely".¹³⁶ Clearly, it is important for students to know about their basic needs and rights so they can ask about it if they are in need. It is also important that the government works to provide these to avoid violent conflict.

Three images featuring clothes, water and food are presented in the textbooks. However, they do not elaborate on peaceful means to fulfil rights to such essentials nor how to respond in case of violation. Other rights are mentioned, such as, "in every school, there should be places for children to play and children must have the right to participate in arts and sport activities".¹³⁷ However, building playgrounds in all schools is difficult, and one playground for each school is not enough as many schools have more than a thousand students. Even though fulfilling this right is difficult and it is up to the government to provide these facilities, it is still important that students should know about their rights.

This item has been removed due to 3rd party copyright. The unabridged version of the thesis can be viewed in the Lanchester Library Coventry University.

Other basic needs should have been mentioned, such as childcare, electricity and clean water. Children not only need to be aware of these rights but also to know how to take responsibility for them. As Åke Bjerstedt (1992:30) states, "the school should try to give its students optimal possibilities to experience themselves as having co-influence and responsibility in real situations. The goal is to have students develop a desire and ability not only to meet the future but also to contribute to its shaping". These kinds of activities and rights are closely related to the immediate situation

Illustration 3: The right to play

¹³⁵ Page 13 of 5th year textbook.

¹³⁶ Page 38 of 5th year textbook. The same right is repeated in the 7th year textbook on pages 11 and 32. Also on page 33 it refers to "the rights to participate in sports and arts activities".

¹³⁷ Page 34 of 5th year textbook

of students and have religious and cultural connotations. Thus, it becomes easy for students to assimilate them and build on them. Students need to relate their knowledge to their experience of their society and so generate an interest and sense of inquiry so they learn to discuss problematic situations, seek solutions themselves and be catalysts of change.

7.3.2 Learning about Non-discrimination

The value of non-discrimination is emphasised in the HRE textbooks of both years, stating that people should not be discriminated against on the basis of race, ethnicity or religion.¹³⁸ They include an exercise and pictures of a church, a mosque, a temple, and a Yezidis holy place to make students aware that there are other religions in their society that must be respected. Moreover, they state that the law does not permit discrimination against anyone in IK.

This item has been removed due to 3rd party copyright. The unabridged version of the thesis can be viewed in the Lanchester Library Coventry University.

Illustration 4: Different places of worship

However, PE is social context specific; hence the textbook contents need to relate to context and students need to learn more about other religions and cultures to counter any wrong assumptions they might have. This will lead to more understanding. There are many

¹³⁸ Page 15 of 5th year textbook

activities that are considered taboo by Yezidi groups but people practice them, either through ignorance or lack of respect. For example, the Yezidi religion considers "damning the devil" to be a serious sin but people repeat the phrase in their presence. Thus, it is a challenge to accept the Yezidi minority without prejudice because the majority have specific assumptions and perceptions. Consequently, students must learn about Christian and Yezidi communities to counteract their prejudices and for people to coexist peacefully. As Hakvoort (2002:19) asserts, "understanding and learning about others and their underlying ideas is regarded as a possible tool to overcome, for example, racism, discrimination or bullying".

A basic principle of HRE is to accept others as they are without attempting to indoctrinate them into one's own culture. Interviewees from Yezidi and Christian minority in IK argued that they are not well represented in the curricula. The Christian interviewees claim that they have only one person in the ME representing the whole Christian community and that person does not actually do so. The Yezidis have nobody representing them in the design and development of the curricula which exacerbates their marginalization and lack of recognition as part of society. On the other hand, the dominant groups feel superior and feel no need to change their previous assumption about these communities. As Harro (1982) asserts, humans are born with stereotypes and prejudices already in place and these are reinforced in the family and in the institutions where people are socialized.

There are also other significant types of discrimination but these are not addressed in the textbooks; for example, discrimination based on tribe, whereby a tribe whose leader holds political power gets more privileges than other tribes.

Another issue is the lack of participation of members of all community groups in decision-making about discrimination (as well as other areas), in particular those with disabilities such as blind and disabled people. Disabled people make limited contribution to the curricula although the textbooks explicitly confirm the value of not discriminating according to human capacities and health.¹³⁹ It is important that students understand this as the structure of society creates differences between healthy and unhealthy people. Disabled students do not have access to the same facilities as healthy students and decision-makers do not take disabled people into consideration when providing services. For example,

¹³⁹ Page 43 of 5th year textbook.

almost all government institutions lack wheelchair access which reinforces the lack of disabled people in the decision-making process.

The teachers attributed the shortcomings in tackling discrimination to the curricula itself. In a focus group they talked about the difficulty of teaching HRE "because it is written in uninteresting, dry context. The subject includes a long extract from an article of the UDHR with very little questioning of what does this article means and how do students get benefit from it."¹⁴⁰ Thus, the emphasis is on imparting knowledge not developing values. The textbooks mention that "humans have different opinions and thoughts, and people have different beliefs".¹⁴¹ This is to make students aware that people are different; they have different opinions, different capacities, and practice different religions. One has to accept the other without changing oneself. However, teachers lack capacities and skills, and so feel reluctant to relate the subject to real life. One teacher said that, "we only teach what is in the book and we do not relate the subject to society".¹⁴²

7.3.3 Strengthening Social Cohesion

Education is an effective tool for strengthening social cohesion among different ethnic groups in society and this is particularly important for IK with so many different ethnic groups. Many PEPs have proved education's effectiveness in realising this objective, in particular, through the contact theory of Alport (1954). This argues that contact between groups fosters positive intergroup attitudes, reduces stereotypes and prejudices in individuals and improves relationships among groups.

The textbooks emphasise the importance of building social relationships and sharing and interacting among people from the different groups in society. The fifth year book states that "people cannot live on their own without the help of others"¹⁴³ and "every person is loyal to their family, every family loyal to their ethnicity and every ethnicity is loyal to the nation".¹⁴⁴ However, it does not discuss the fact that the nation is composed of different ethnicities that need to interact and be treated as equal in terms of rights, responsibilities and opportunities.

The curricula also introduced universal values and perspectives asserting the interdependence of human beings and communities around the world illustrated by a world

¹⁴⁰ Interview with a teacher in a focus group in Duhok school 07/06/2013

¹⁴¹ Page 19 of the 5th year textbook.

¹⁴² Interview with a teacher in Sulaimaniyah school 19/12/12

¹⁴³ Page 7 of 5th year textbook

¹⁴⁴ Page 17 of 5th year textbook

map. In relation to this, in the year five textbook it states "despite the differences between human beings they are all equals in terms of rights".¹⁴⁵ There is one activity in the textbooks that teach students the values of respect, equality and differences: all the students have to line up and then change their places except those standing at the front. The front students remain in their place. They then have to tell the sex, the colour and the height of the students behind him and if he/she makes a mistake he/she is out of the game.

In the fifth year textbook there is an image of a student wanting to visit their sick friend, and some advice is given about visiting sick people.¹⁴⁶ In the image the children are wearing Kurdish costumes; however, they are taking flowers. This is unusual in IK because it is customary for visitors to take sweets, food and drinks. Possibly the intention behind this might be to change people's habits from buying sweets to buying flowers. This teaches students the value of taking care; looking after one another, which is in line with the cultural norms of the society.

Illustration 5: Taking flowers to the sick

This item has been removed due to 3rd party copyright. The unabridged version of the thesis can be viewed in the Lanchester Library Coventry University.

¹⁴⁵ Page 8 of 5th year textbook

¹⁴⁶ Page 8 of 5th year textbook

HRE needs to highlight the mutual benefit of this and the importance of recognising and encouraging shared values amongst ethnic and religious communities rather than emphasising their differences. However, as discussed above, there is very little presentation of other communities in the current HRE contents. Knowing about other cultures and practices can make students from different backgrounds understand that they have something in common. This can be done by including values shared by different ethnic groups. Then, their discussion may focus on controversial issues such as inequality in opportunities, decision-making, and social injustices. Through this they will have more opportunities to know about one another's suffering and marginalisation, thus, removing communication barriers, and eventually encouraging more cooperation.

Reardon (1988) asserts that HRE aims to create a peaceful and human society based on equity, mutuality and the inherent worth of all persons' strengths, to be realised as the manifestation of global justice. Thus, to achieve this objective, the status of ethnic groups needs to be based on equality and justice. However, although the textbooks support this, there are clear contradictions between what the textbooks say and the social reality in IK where inequality and corruption are common practice and government officials exploit their position for their own benefit. These issues are not discussed in the class and teachers feel reluctant to do so because politics it is not considered a fit subject for discussion. In fact, discussing such issues in public is seen as different and disloyal to the nation, and leads to further stigmatisation. The HRE curriculum lacks representation of the cultural values and daily practices of people in relation to HR values, which is a serious loss as traditional values can be used as an important vehicle for explaining international human rights standards, as some are in tandem with these although some contradict them.

Loyalty to family and nation

Unity in a society is an important element in building peace. However, enforcing a heterogeneous society to adopt one culture is currently failing IK. This is loyalty to the family and nation, which is mentioned in the textbooks, generally in terms of conformity to social practices and not challenging authority and government policy. According to this perspective, people who go against the cultural norms and practices of the family or tribe are stigmatised and whenever one individual does something wrong, the whole tribe is influenced by that family member's act. In the fifth year textbook it states: "Whenever there is loyalty and cooperation among family, society and nations, society will function

better".¹⁴⁷ This is a critical issue for some minorities groups as it may mean having their own values assimilated into those of the dominant group and common culture.

In this context, although the textbooks clearly state that teachers should not impose ideas on students,¹⁴⁸ the reality contradicts this. For example, some teachers in a focus group argued that although students are allowed to miss Islamic Studies, some students prefer to stay and learn about Islam.¹⁴⁹ But some parents argued in their interviews that teachers encourage students of other religions to stay. Because teachers of Islamic Studies also teach other subjects, this exerts undue influence as students of other religions who attend Islamic Studies tend to be given preference by the teachers.¹⁵⁰ As further discussed in Section 7.4, such pressure constitutes a form of symbolic violence created by a combination of the lack of representation of minorities in the decision-making process and teacher's lack of skills and belief in teaching in a multicultural environment.

To build unity and loyalty in society, dialogue and better channels of communication among groups are needed. However, there was a notable lack of communication and cooperation among the people involved in decision-making with grassroots individuals, such as teachers, students and the community. For example, although ME interviewees asserted that all communities had representatives involved in the process, interviewees from minority communities asserted that their so-called representatives were government employees who were not representing their communities. As one teacher stated, "Our representative never came back to us about our needs and concerns and we do not know who they are".¹⁵¹ This was confirmed when the researcher interviewed the representative of Christian Studies in the Duhok education department, who asserted that he was "the only person representing the whole Christian community of Duhok and [recommended that] more employees from [his] community be recruited. There are around forty Christian schools in the area".¹⁵² Consequently, there was lack of awareness of the needs and concerns of the multicultural society, which was reflected in the dissonance between the textbooks contents and the students' immediate situation.

7.3.4 Child Labour

¹⁴⁷ Page 12 of the 5th year textbook

¹⁴⁸ Page 4 of the 5th year textbook

¹⁴⁹ Interview with a teacher in a focus group in Duhok 10/12/2012

¹⁵⁰ Interview with a Yezidi parent in Duhok 07/12/2012

¹⁵¹ Interview with an Assyrian teacher in Duhok school 06/12/2012

¹⁵² Interview with Malko, Christian Studies representative 05/06/2013

Poverty, wars and conflicts in IK have affected the lives of people in different ways and on all levels. Many parents died young and left behind families of several children. There is no social welfare to support families and children so children are forced to work to support their families although there is a ban on child labour. Children's rights were mentioned several times in the fifth and seventh year HRE textbooks. In the fifth year book it states that:

"Every child has the right to have reasonable standards of living. Children have the right not to work until a certain age. Every child has to be protected from economic crisis. A child's work should not prevent him from schooling or cause him to experience ill-health and psychological illness".¹⁵³

There are two pictures of poor boys working (see below). Both look miserable. Beneath one, the caption says, "He works therefore he is deprived of his right to learn". Beneath the other, it says, "The child is working because he is poor, therefore, he is deprived of the right to learn". During the fieldwork, when the researcher asked about HRE aims, many teachers referred to learning about children rights and how to take care of children. Clearly, there was a lack of understanding amongst teachers about children's rights, human rights and the philosophy behind these. Moreover, the textbooks blamed children and their families for their situation.

A number of teachers explained that, as well as being a consequence of poverty and lack of means, one of the reasons for children working underage related to the cultural norms according to which children build good personalities by working. Thus, since the textbooks state that children are to be provided with reasonable standards of living until they reach a certain age and encourage students to continue their education,¹⁵⁴ they contradict the social belief that encourages children to work at an early age. While the textbooks state that it is forbidden, one can find many children working at polishing shoes or selling cigarettes and phone cards. A survey conducted by KSC in 2007 demonstrated that there are 10,878 child labourers in IK; 8,246 in Erbil; 4,067 in Sulaimaniyah; and 2,565 in Duhok (KSC 2007:7).

¹⁵³ Page 40 of 5th year textbook

¹⁵⁴ Page 40 of 5th year textbook

Illustration 6: Boys without education

There are, however, local NGOs, such as KSC and other child protection centres, in all cities in IK to help children not to work and provide parents with information about the importance of schooling. They also provide sums of money to support families in sending children to school rather than work. However, according to a representative from the child protection centre, Zewa, “the sum of money is very little and it is given in instalments. Many children go back to work after a while because the money is not enough”.¹⁵⁵ The textbooks mention the ‘right of no exploitation’, whereby “every adult has the right to get wages from the work they do. This work has to be enough for him and his family”.¹⁵⁶ However, there is no minimum wage and there is extreme inequality in salaries both in government and the private sector.

7.3.5 Respect for the Law

Some people in IK feel they have impunity from the law because of their connections with government officials. Consequently, laws are still applied very unequally in IK, although this is reducing to some extent. However, it is difficult to teach respect for the law and

¹⁵⁵ Interview with Zewa representative in Duhok 15/12/2012

¹⁵⁶ Page 41 of 5th year textbook. The same right is referred to on page 29 of 7th year textbook.

equality before the law, and the implications of this, because inequality is so much part of the culture.

The value of respect for the law, which in IK is mainly Sharia, and acceptance of no impunity is mentioned in the textbooks as: "the violation of human rights was normal in the past".¹⁵⁷ It further mentions that "the law is to liberate people from oppression",¹⁵⁸ and "to ensure the right to participate and be part of the government through election".¹⁵⁹ This indicates that people can expect to participate in government only through elections. Other forms of participation in social and political life, such as through kindness and cooperation, and attending debates and meetings, are not mentioned.

The textbooks also mention that "all Kurdish people have the right to citizenship and are equal before the law".¹⁶⁰ However, the contradictions involved in this were not mentioned and the textbooks lacked any indication of the social inequalities and violation of human rights that exist; nor were they discussed in observed classes. For instance, as discussed above, many violations of women rights concerning marriage in Kurdish Sharia law are not mentioned, thus, if a man rapes a woman, the woman has to marry her rapist and stay in the relationship for no less than three years. Meanwhile, since the textbooks state that there is equality of rights in IK with no violation, the teachers repeat exactly what the textbooks say.

However, it is mentioned that, since the UDHR has been accepted, citizens have the right to sue their own government if they violate human rights.¹⁶¹ This gives students motivation, commitment and freedom to be catalysts of change. Moreover, as Bajaj and Valera (2009:44) state, "the UN decade of HRE (1995-2004) put pressure on states to consider HRE in their national policy, pedagogy, and curricula in line with the tenets of international HR documents". However, the textbooks do not mention the possibility of UN intervention to insist that the government stops torture and introduces affirmative action to help protect minority rights. Thus, again, the textbooks lack the means to foster skills that enable students to identify, discuss and resolve these issues.

¹⁵⁷ Page 21 of 7th year textbook

¹⁵⁸ It also states on page 5 of 7th year HRE textbook that "the law is the main factor for reforming the state".

¹⁵⁹ Page 5 of the 7th year textbook as 'the rights of election'.

¹⁶⁰ Pages 10 and 32 in 7th year textbook. There are slight differences between the Iraqi Constitution in Article 14, which states that "Iraqi's are equal before law without discrimination based on gender" however the Constitution of Kurdistan Region goes a step further and states more positively that "men and women shall be equal before the law".

¹⁶¹ Page 6 of 7th year textbook.

7.3.6 Respect for the Environment

The right to live in a clean environment is a universal right and abusing this right affects the whole world. This is mentioned in the textbooks.¹⁶² There are two pictures: one shows a clean, friendly environment and the other shows one full of factory smoke. The caption asks the students to choose the one they want to live in. The aim is to encourage discussion and raise students' awareness of the issue. However, the pictures do not represent IK because it is not industrialized. Pictures of people throwing rubbish, car fumes or other forms of environmental pollution specific to IK would make the issue more relevant to students. People lack knowledge about the importance of caring for the environment. The perception within Kurdish society is that a clean environment means no rubbish in the street and that this is the responsibility of the municipality cleaners.

Looking after animals and plants is mentioned in the fifth year HRE textbook,¹⁶³ which includes an activity explaining that animals and plants have rights and homework for students to do with their parents. This requires them to explain the interrelation between humans, animals and plants and how students can take care of this. This is important because many people do not care about animals and plants. This is especially important for areas experiencing drought but the textbooks do not mention these. The textbook mentions the importance of drinking clean water but does not mention how to conserve water and not waste it. Nor, does it indicate that wasting water means preventing others from having it.

The majority of people in IK are not aware of climate change. Most are not aware how to save energy despite the fact that the area has experienced electricity shortages and petrol crises since the regime change. In fact, some families have two or three cars. The effects of using cars and of saving energy and sharing travel or using public transport, and the role that everyone can play in reducing damage to the environment are not mentioned in the textbooks.

To appreciate these rights and responsibilities, students need to actively practice them through activities inside and outside school. However, in interviews, teachers were continually complaining about lack of supporting teaching material; although the author found that schools could include some activities without these, such as having an

¹⁶² Page 35 of 5th year textbook; page 25 of 7th year textbook.

¹⁶³ Page 7 of 5th year textbook.

environment-friendly day. They can also make leaflets about how to preserve the environment with advice about saving energy and water.

7.3.7 Fostering Nonviolent Methods

Davydov (1995) argues that specific functions are not given to a person at birth but are provided as cultural and social patterns, ones that take place in the process of teaching and upbringing. Consequently, the main objective of HRE is to foster nonviolent methods of solving problems, to teach knowledge, skills, and values that sustain these and to build a culture of peace. This is affirmed in the UNESCO 'Manifesto 2000 for a Culture of Peace and Non-violence' (EFA UNESCO 2000).

There are numerous contradictions between the messages the HRE textbook promote and the existing cultural norms that accept the practice of using violence against children, and within the school environment itself. Children get beaten at home by adults, and humiliated in school by teachers and they also learn to fight back. Hence, it is difficult for students to learn the values of nonviolence. The fifth year textbook asserts that "the state has to protect children from all the wrong behaviour perpetrated against them by their parents, such as beating and physical violence. The state has to follow all possible ways to protect children".¹⁶⁴ Two pictures are shown with this: one shows a man using physical violence against a child and the other shows an adult threatening a child (see below). This form of violence is common practice and the textbooks indicate that physical and verbal violence are not permissible.

However, although violence against women is more common practice in IK society and cultural norms encourage it, there are no pictures of girls or women. This absence could imply that it is acceptable as it is in line with cultural context. According to a study by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs in 2010, 83% of families practice violence against children in IK (quoted in Manara Network for Child Rights 2011:43). Conversely, Meinjtes (1977) defines HRE education as the empowerment of people to control their own lives and decide upon issues affecting them without fear. In line with this, the seventh year HRE textbook states that: "This right can only be violated in situations like abortion, lawful killing, hanging, and in wars".¹⁶⁵ Thus, in this too, HRE contradicts the cultural norms.

¹⁶⁴ Pages 27-28 of 5th year textbook

¹⁶⁵ Page 7 of 7th year textbook

This item has been removed due to 3rd party copyright. The unabridged version of the thesis can be viewed in the Lanchester Library Coventry University.

Illustration 7: Disciplining boys

7.3.8 HRE Exercises

This section reviews the exercises provided in the HRE textbooks which are an important part of learning. As Evans (1996: 19) argues:

“[P]eace is promoted through the ways that adults interact with children; through the stories that are told about other people; through the kinds of games and play that children engage in; through the ways adults facilitate children’s interaction and promote the solving of conflicts in peaceful ways; through the kinds of songs that children sing; through children’s exposure to violence in the media; and through children’s access to and degree of encouragement in the use of toys designed to look like weapons.”

As well as the activities discussed below, the fifth year book contains 16 reflective questions and 7 recall questions, whilst there are 47 questions in the seventh year book, all of them reflective questions. The questions are supposed to introduce social conflicts related to society. However, none of the 16 reflective questions raises social conflicts that relate to the immediate environment of the learners and reflective thinking is not possible without reference to relevant social issues.

i) The activities

There are 11 activities in the fifth year textbook and three in the seventh year textbook. These involve questions posed for students to discuss in groups or questions about stories in the book. The activities are more or less the same as the questions in the exercises and do not provide any variation from having the teacher questioning learners. Only one of the activities make the students move from their desks, do any activities outside the classroom, undertake cooperative projects or group activities other than asking questions.

ii) Puzzle pictures

There are only two picture puzzle exercises in the fifth year textbook and none in the seventh year textbook. The first is shown below in Illustration 8. They are intended for learners to ponder on them. Each picture shows a different facial gesture and students are expected to assess the feelings expressed. The second is shown in Illustration 4 and requires the students to write in the names of the places of worship that are illustrated there. These are intended to engage the learners in thinking, reasoning and easily understanding issues relating to HR knowledge, attitudes and skills.

This item has been removed due to 3rd party copyright. The unabridged version of the thesis can be viewed in the Lanchester Library Coventry University.



Illustration 8: Facial expressions

The existence of figures and pictures help and support learners understanding and will ease children's participation in discussion. The result of the PAO 2012-2013 survey showed that 16% of students wanted HRE to include more colour pictures (PAO 2013). However, there was no role play, written exercises, or group work.

iii) Storytelling

There are eight stories in the fifth year textbook, each about a subject in the textbook. The stories are very effective as they are written in a simple way for teachers and students to understand; moreover, most of the rights mentioned in the textbooks are covered by one or more stories. Most are written as a stage play that students can play roles in. However, in the field observations, the author did not see any role play being enacted. Instead, the stories were read by students one after the other without elaboration. Teachers and students liked the stories and recommended including more stories in the textbooks.

Storytelling is a powerful tool in disseminating knowledge in almost all cultures and religions, as well as in modern education systems. As mentioned above, for HRE to be effective, it needs to engage the interest of the students and, as Riessman (1993) asserts young children love and connect with stories. The 2012-2013 survey showed that 39% of students wanted the HRE contents to be based on stories, while 26% said the contents should be more about movies. Many other scholars support the use of storytelling in building peace. Hirsch (2006) supports the use of stories in PEPs as a way to evoke thoughts and feelings, as well as to enhance the potential of the readers to create their own personal stories and share them with others. This is a very economical in terms of material support and so can be afforded in IK schools.

Other scholars emphasise the need to develop critical thinking in children through storytelling. Bruner (1990) argues that thinking through stories is one of the two main human ways of thinking and suggests that stories are an integral part of culture and identity as people interpret the world around them and examine their own place in society through stories. This is important and can be managed by teachers even if they lack the capacity to build critical thinking of students.

Bar-On and Kassem (2004) argue that stories can foster empathy and change attitudes toward the 'other', as well as strengthening the possibility of more human contacts. In addition, they build connections by encouraging students to learn about one another and be happy to share their own personal and family experiences. Stories can widen learners' minds and build their confidence in talking and better understanding the

issues, which is what the students of Kurdistan lack as there is little contact between students of different ethnic groups, which stories could counteract. There is one story in the fifth HRE textbook about respecting one another's rights. The story is written as theatre play in which the students have to play animal roles and all the animals have to respect one another's rights.

Thus, overall, the contents of the HRE curriculum cover many significant issues. However, this is undermined both by the contradictions between the textbooks and cultural norms and by neglecting to include many relevant elements. These latter constitute the "null curriculum that refers to the overt curriculum that are omitted because of time constraints, omissions, or prejudice of the teacher" (Slattery 2006:234). Salmi (1999) calls this a silent form of violence or "violence by omission" (cited in Davies 2005c:362). Salmi's (1999) typology of violence in schools explains the situation in IK well. He refers to the deprivation of fundamental human rights, the lack of equality before the law and the lack of school hygiene, as "repressive violence". Similarly, he uses the term, "indirect violence" to refer to the ways in which schools fail to protect students from violence; and "alienating violence" as the deprivation of higher rights such as occurs through racism, cultural repression and students living in fear. Schools that make no serious effort to resolve these types of violence actually help to reproduce them. How these issues may be explained in terms of power relations is explored in the next section.

7.4 Explanation: Stage Three of the CDA

Overall, CDA reveals "who uses language, how, why and when" (Gee 2011:3) and the relations between these. In this case, the curricula were introduced, written and implemented by an INGO (i.e., the NPA) with the help of local NGOs and the ME, and the concepts and pictures represent Western knowledge and values, the dominance of the international perspective being obvious in the lack of Kurdish cultural norms, values and images. Although the aim may be to make Kurdish societal norms more in line with global norms and values, imposing foreign culture and neglecting the cultural relativism inherent in Kurdish society contradicts HRE principles. This power imbalance was also reflected in the lack of ethnic balance and input from teachers and students in the production of the curriculum. As such, the findings confirm Bourdieu and Passeron's (1977) assertion that symbolic forms of violence in schools is perpetuated through

curricula and pedagogical techniques that reproduce the power relations of the larger society.

However, while the textbook contents were not contextualised to IK society, the policy that teachers adopted in teaching HRE was in tandem with discursive and cultural practices prevalent in IK society, which discourages critical thinking and questioning of the status quo, as discussed in detail in Chapter Nine. This is especially important in HRE since the subject is inherently political, which may explain why the IK government has been reluctant to implement it in an effective way as student empowerment through the knowledge and skills of HRE may lead to questioning of and opposition to dominant discourses. This lack of commitment was obvious in several ways: the lack of a good written policy, the failure to contextualise HRE to the IK situation, and lack of provision for adequate training and effective follow up. This reluctance is in line with empirical case studies conducted by Cardenas (2005) in South America, which indicated that governments wanted to promote HRE but not implement it. Rather than treating students as passive receivers of information, HRE needs to highlight the social conflicts, inequality, injustices in a way that challenges the students to think for themselves; but this analysis demonstrated that this was not possible because the texts did not relate to the students' immediate context. However, contextualisation is likely to reveal inherent injustices and inequality, which if understood critically is liable to undermine the dominant power relations.

Thus, as Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) argue, the system of education is a field dominated by mechanisms that reproduce social hierarchies. This field includes all school agents: teachers, trainers, curriculum designers, etc. Through these the school administration imposes and engages in specific cultural productions that reproduce and maintain social structures of domination, and the educational system can be viewed as the vehicle by which the power of the dominant group is legitimatised and promoted. Since students are not encouraged to develop and apply the relevant skills, nor to question the curriculum or gain alternative knowledge, they become complicit in the process. For the government this will strengthen the appreciation of family ties and build solidarity in the community. However, for minority communities, this is liable to exacerbate segregation and animosity. These issues, as they relate to the HE curricula and teaching practices, as well as the HRE curricula, are discussed further in Chapter Ten; while the next section considers the possibilities whereby HRE could be used to transform IK society.

7.5 Transformative Practices

7.5.1 Learning about Action

As above mentioned, for students to get effective benefit from HRE, it must enable them to apply the knowledge and skills they gain. Meintjes (1997) asserts the importance of having real and practical experience so as to see the relevance and value of human rights since such knowledge only becomes useful when used in real life situations; otherwise it loses its purpose. This is in line with ME aims, as stated by a representative in interview: "We hope that teachers will use practical methods and relate [HRE] to the school atmosphere, so people respect other people`s opinions".¹⁶⁶ However, many teachers of HRE in IK understand that they have to make the subject relate *only* to the school environment. As one of the teachers in a focus group stated: "We follow the ME objectives, as it is stated in the introduction of the book thus, we make the subject relate to the school atmosphere only".¹⁶⁷

However, fulfilling the ME's objective requires special effort, including support for teachers to change their commitment and beliefs concerning HRE, awareness of the time required and the cooperation of all involved. As another teacher stated:

"We know the importance of HR values and principles and we know at the same time the difficulty of practicing it outside schools because it contradicts the majority of people's beliefs and for this reason I can understand the reluctance of the ME in providing facilities and implementing the spirit of HR in schools".¹⁶⁸

This may have led the ME to provide little support and facilities for the HRE to achieve its objectives. The ministry stated in the fifth year textbook that their "hope in introducing the new education system is to improve the school curriculum", but interviewed teachers stated that "there is little proof that the ME really want to change".¹⁶⁹ This was the concern of many teachers interviewed. As one astutely asserted, "HR principles motivate students to change the social context of society rather than maintain the

¹⁶⁶ Interview with Alquarani, ME consultant 17/12/2012

¹⁶⁷ Interview with a teacher in a focus group in Duhok school 11/12/2012

¹⁶⁸ Interview with a teacher in Duhok school 29/05/2013

¹⁶⁹ Teachers expressed this attitude in many interviews and argued that the fact that the ME monitors says that this is a test project indicates that the ME is not serious about it nor even fully in agreement with introducing these changes as, if they were, they would have ensured that the teachers practiced it.

existing fabric of society and we are living in very unstable times, especially in the context of the Arab Spring".¹⁷⁰

This highlights another contradiction that students face in gaining a good understanding of HR. Teachers of HRE and of other subjects lack the awareness to acknowledge the importance of the hidden curriculum. This exists because, although they teach the values of equality, freedom of expression to students, most teachers' own values are based on authoritative attitudes, obedience to and respect for hierarchies, and gender inequality.

To get the maximum benefit from HRE, the different stakeholders need to work in cooperation - in society, amongst teachers, parents, students and the ME. In this way education will achieve what Bernstein (1994:132-133) terms "shared competence"; that is, giving interest to the community rather than self-interest. Otherwise, education will lead to "specialised performance"; that is, stressing the difference between people. Hence, when the outcome of education manifests as *specialised performance*, solidarity can only occur in specific circumstances of extreme need or privilege (Bernstein 1994:132).

Given the varied ethnic composition of IK society, this raises a challenge. IK has suffered many wars and experienced years of political oppression and ethnic cleansing at the hands of the Iraq government. Thus, the Kurdish people have intense grievances towards the dominant Arab community and, according to many Kurds, the whole Arab nation is the cause of their oppression. Therefore, there is a need for more tolerance amongst the new generation, since school children are the future of society. All Iraqi people need to work for mutual benefit that creates positive peace throughout Iraq. As Deutsch (2000) argues, cooperation and solidarity among people fosters creativity, nonviolence and constructiveness; while self-interestedness fosters destructiveness and violent attitudes.

Similarly, Powell (2002:123) asserts that accountability is only successful if "entire systems are held accountable for addressing inequities in education and not simply one or two individuals". This is in line with Gevisser and Morris (2002:213) who posit that we are all responsible for the progression and development of our nation through education, but we are also responsible for our own behaviour and that of others in society. Responsibility and accountability, therefore, refer to the need to control ourselves and respect those around us to the benefit of the entire society. However, not only teachers and students are

¹⁷⁰ Interview with a focus group in a Sulaimaniyah school 20/12/2012

responsible for failure in the education system but all those involved the education process must be held accountable.

There was little in the textbooks to show that HR needs to be spread outside the school environment except the one activity, mentioned above, about rights and responsibilities designed for students to do with their parents as homework.¹⁷¹ This is good as far as it goes but it needs to make students and parents aware that people have responsibilities, and not just rights without needing to consider other people's rights.

HRE has an important role to play in identifying structural violence and social conflicts that are embedded in society and make students aware of the underlying causes of this so they can find relevant solutions. This will only be effective when teachers make the subject relate to actual society and when teaching methods involve experiential learning. For example, the KRG has a helpline in place for children, which is a positive step. However, the question is how many children know about. Although the helpline is instituted by law, it is not mentioned in any of the textbooks as the law was not passed till 2012 (and the textbooks were written in 2007). There is also a need for the KRG to provide more resources for children that suffer from abuse. Children need to be able to approach professionals such as teachers, police officers and social workers. They need to know that their voices are heard, that their abuse is wrong and unacceptable by law, and that they will be helped when they are in need rather than having their complaints ignored.

Thus, the school environment can be considered a micro-society for students in which different roles and activities need to be played so as to prepare students for the broader society. Hence, if schools wish their students to respect human rights and to apply human rights values in the broader society, they need to cultivate such an attitude within the school and classroom. This is one of the objectives of HRE: to empower students to defend their own and other people's rights.

7.5.2 Learning how to Change Attitudes and Behaviour

Empowering children with skills builds commitment and encourages them to be active catalysts of change. Firstly, though, student awareness must be enhanced with adequate knowledge and skills, then attitudes and behaviour will gradually change. Teaching students values without letting them debate, experience and discuss them in an open and safe environment will not lead to their changing positively. Values are something internal

¹⁷¹ Page 21 of 5th year textbook.

that make it difficult for someone to grasp. A person's values are strongly influenced and shaped by their surrounding culture, society and family. Hence, when children come to school they bring their values to school with them. Values are a constitutive part of a specific society; they are reproduced through its institutions, especially through the socialization of the individual. Morrison (2000:123) reinforces this argument, saying:

“Values do not exist in a void. They give meaning to the culture and society in which they are expressed. In turn, culture and society provide the power determinant of what shall be valued. Cultural values can be universal but are applied in particular situations.”

In line with this, the textbooks aim to enhance communication skills and increase respect for one another, as well as to develop the ability to take care of others and be open to listening to different points of view.

The right to complain is mentioned in the textbooks. However, they do not indicate how students can complain.¹⁷² This is very relevant in the school environment as violence and humiliating behaviour are common. Making it possible to complain, banning corporal punishment and introducing HRE has led to a reduction in violence, especially physical violence against students (PDA 2008). The textbooks also fail to mention any of the many other nonviolent means of protesting, such as nonviolent demonstration and other forms of civil disobedience. For example, Gene Sharp listed 197 forms of non-violent actions, including petitions, marches and symbolic acts (Sharp 1973). Reardon (1988) and Lister (1984) point out that HRE education must be action-based but the textbooks lack any way of building students' skills to act in case of violation of rights. Students need to be empowered by decision-making skills to exercise their rights and responsibilities. Students also learn peace values from the teachers' and adults' behaviour. If what teachers say and how they behave are not consistent with HRE, learners will imitate and take on board what teachers are doing. Therefore, they need to be aware of their behaviour, for example, instead of telling students to take care of each other, learners can see this when the teacher takes care of them and promotes this in class and students can experience it. Therefore, changing values and imparting knowledge of human rights requires skilful teachers and peace-oriented methods of teaching and teachers need relevant training for

¹⁷² Page 29 of 5th year textbook; page 30 of 7th year textbook.

this. In addition, teachers themselves need to be peace-oriented to be able to transmit peaceful understanding to students. This is not currently the case because peace values are not taught in teachers' training institutions.

There are many traditional cultural values that help society by providing peace and harmony, such as respect and obedience to elderly people, loyalty to the tribe and its leader, and avoiding confronting enemies. IK has become more open to other ethnicities, both through people coming from outside and investing in IK and through displaced people settling from other areas of Iraq. Therefore holding rigidly to cultural traditions is no longer viable and people need to accept global HR values.

7.6 Conclusion

This chapter explored how HRE textbooks teach students about their rights and responsibilities to facilitate their empowerment. In the fifth year textbooks, these are explained through stories, and teachers and students expressed their interest in learning through storytelling and complained about the lack of stories in the seventh year textbooks.

The chapter discussed the challenges that face teachers and students in developing their knowledge, skills and values in relation to human rights. Although the overt curricula included a number of positive changes, the null curricula included issues that are crucial to an effective development of HRE. Thus, the curricula failed to challenge significant cultural norms; in particular, violence against women and children, such as female circumcision, male inheritance of family property, issues of shame and stigmatization of women. Textbook contents could have explored how these practices still persist as well as providing more current information on transformative developments such as the struggle for gender equality and to end violence against women and children. This relates to the stabiliser approach of the government whereby the oppressors want the oppressed to stay in the same situation, and to the lack of recognition by teachers of the structural violence embedded in society, in general, and the education system, in particular. As one teacher stated, "children have all their rights and there is no discrimination whatsoever, because they all have to wear uniforms and they all have to come to school".¹⁷³

However, the textbook content includes both conflict-resolution and stabiliser views of society. For instance, the discussion of the struggle for national integration includes concepts such as nepotism, inequality, marginalization, corruption, tribalism, ignorance, and greed, which are relevant to both approaches. While, they aim to examine social conflicts so as to find the root causes and analyse social injustices, they also seek conformity and obedience to the status quo.

One of the main criticisms throughout this chapter was the lack of contextualisation. While the textbooks aim to nurture an understanding of universal human rights values amongst students, this is solely mentioned in a universal context, not that of IK society; for example, issues relating to fair treatment of prisoners, freedom of thought and expression. This is exacerbated by teachers teaching the subject as if the lessons concerned another community and not applying the contents to Kurdish society, presumably because it is not mentioned that they apply specifically to IK. Sometimes even

¹⁷³ Interview with a teacher in Duhok school 06/12/2012

the pictures in the textbook do not represent Kurdish society (see the cover illustration in Illustration 1), such as showing it as normal to have free socialisation between boys and girls; whereas, in reality there are strong cultural and religious restrictions. This lack of contextualisation constitutes a part of the null curriculum and as such denies students important cultural tools and may hinder critical learning of peace values and concepts and acquisition of skills for finding peaceful solutions to conflicts, impairing their ability to work as catalysts of change.

As the findings show, the impact of HRE was more related to development of cognitive awareness, such as awareness of rights and responsibilities, than to acquiring the related social skills and applying the knowledge to students' social context, such as working cooperatively, caring and forgiving one another. Indeed, there was a notable lack of reference to forgiveness, tolerance, peace, conflict and nonviolence. However, the textbooks did present many peace-orientated concepts, in contrast to the HE curricula contents, as discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Eight: History Education Contents Analysis

This item has been removed due to 3rd party copyright. The unabridged version of the

Galtung (1975: 49)

8.0 Introduction

As discussed in the literature review, peace education involves three main forms of possible intervention in schools: formal, informal and global. The formal approach (additive) is to introduce it as a single subject or, in more holistic approaches, through all school subjects (integrated). In IK, PE has been introduced using a formal approach through a single subject, HRE, as discussed in the previous chapter. However, study of a closely related subject, such as HE, can provide illuminating insight into the differences and similarities between the way the two subjects are approached, especially in relation to disseminating peace and war values.

Hence, this chapter looks at the HE curriculum content as taught in IK schools, focussing in particular on the skills and values presented in terms of their relationship to peace and war. As with the previous chapter, the null curriculum and the implications hidden within the text are explored as well as the overt curriculum. The latter includes the following subjects: Islamic history;¹⁷⁴ the Kurdish situation during the Islamic state era; the ancient, middle and contemporary history of Kurdistan; the geographical and historic places of Kurdistan; Kurdistan during the Ottoman Empire; the Kurds during the British mandate and the emergence of Iraq; and the Kurdish question in Iraq. The topics are repeated with more explanation in the higher grade textbooks; for example, the history of Islam is covered on pages 60 to 72 in the fifth year textbook, and from page 73 to page 119 in the eighth year book.

Fairclough and Chouliaraki (1999) emphasise the important role that language plays in building worldviews and social realities and, in relation to this, Gee suggests that the role of critical discourse is discovering “who uses language, how, why and when” (Gee

¹⁷⁴ The Islamic History syllabus covers the period from the Prophet’s birth (570-632 CE) through the Rashidun caliphate era (632-661 CE), Umayyad era (661-750 CE), Abbasid era (750-1258 CE), Fatimid era (909-1171 CE), to the Ottoman era (1453-1924 CE).

2011:3). Thus, the texts, language, and concepts are analysed in relation to Fairclough's (1995) critical discourse analysis to understand how the discourse of HE relates to the socio-cultural practices of IK society and the implications of this. As described in Chapter Three, Fairclough (1995:7) states that CDA relates to three types of analysis: text, discourse practice and socio-cultural practice. He explains that "discourse is use of language seen as a form of social practice, and discourse analysis is an analysis of how texts work within socio-cultural practice" (Fairclough 1995:7).

Textbook contents are important for shaping the worldviews of students. HE contents, in particular, play an important role in fostering ideology, instilling national consciousness, and shaping individual and collective attitudes. Thus, the curriculum and textbooks are tools in the transmittance of a society's ideology to new generations (Bar-On and Adwan 2006). HE legitimizes the dominant group's existence and justifies certain acts, behaviour and attitudes and so is particularly important when building a new state. Hence, it is important for IK educational planners to take students' societal context into consideration when designing school curricula.

However, it is also important to bear in mind that most scholars agree that there is no single 'true' history (Polkinghorne 2005) and when the subject is taught presenting only one approach, it becomes indoctrination. This has made post-conflict societies, such as Cyprus, Rwanda, and Guatemala, reluctant to decide what history contents to study and some countries have engaged in joint history writing projects to avoid prejudice and misrepresentation of the other's history. For example, there were "joint initiatives on French-German textbooks during the 1920s; a US-Soviet textbook project in the 1970s; German-Polish cooperation following the Second World War; more recently China and Korea have raised concerns about the treatment of WWII in Japanese textbooks" (Hopken 2003 in Smith 2010:19).

The contents are analysed in relation to social practices prevalent in IK society, highlighting the peace- and war-orientated values found in the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth year HE textbooks of IK foundation schools. The study combines the analysis of the textbooks' content with fieldwork observation and interviews conducted in December and January of 2012, and May and June of 2013. The chapter elaborates on the following questions: Do the textbooks foster the unity of Iraq or build a sense of Kurdish identity within students? How do they present war and violence, and ways of ending these? What do the textbooks assume to be the outcomes and intention of wars? To explore these, in the next section, I first analyse the HE curriculum using Stage One of the CDA by identifying

words and themes, as for Chapter Seven before discussing my interpretation of these findings in Section 8.2.

8.1 Applying Stage One of the CDA to the HE curriculum

The basic premise of CDA is that language and language use do not merely reflect our social and mental realities but helps us constitute and construct these realities. Stage One of the CDA revealed many words and phrases in the HE curricula relating to war, conflicts, discrimination, violent methods of dealing with the other, the justification of war against disbelievers and divisions between Muslims and non-Muslims. These were used positively when describing issues such as the ‘diplomatic’ way of compelling non-Muslims to comply with Muslim order, the outcome of war for Muslims (since they always win either through victory or martyrdom) and avoidance rather than resolution of conflict.

Many concepts were used, but not defined, such as war conflict,¹⁷⁵ liberation,¹⁷⁶ invasion,¹⁷⁷ conquest (*Fotohat* in Arabic),¹⁷⁸ movement, Jihad battles,¹⁷⁹ Emirates states, demonstration,¹⁸⁰ and revolution¹⁸¹; many of these were mentioned in several different places. For example, the concepts of liberation, invasion and conquest are mentioned in many places in the textbooks and have mixed and confused meanings. In areas where the military, such as a Muslim military army or a Kurdish emirate military group, entered a region with the support of citizens, it is called liberation while, at other times, it is called invasion.

Moreover, words and phrases used generally focused on alienation of the other, that is, non-Muslims, rather than more positive aspects of Islam. For example, war against the other was presented as obligatory and necessary in Islamic history, and this was backed

¹⁷⁵ Conflict, battles, and war are mentioned on pages 57 and 58, twice on 59, twice on 60, 63, 71, 85 and 90 of 6th year textbook.

¹⁷⁶ Liberate is mentioned on pages 71 and 72 of 5th year textbook and pages 99, twice on 107, three times on 108, 128 and 134 of 8th year textbook.

¹⁷⁷ That the state wanted to invade / had invaded areas is mentioned on page 54 of 5th year textbook, pages 110, 111 148 of 8th year textbook and pages 81, 85, 93, 112, 113, twice in 122 142 and 146 of 6th year textbook.

¹⁷⁸ The Muslims opened areas on page 64 of 5th year textbook, and page 94, 99 100 102, three times on 103 107 108, twice on 109, twice on 110, 113 and twice on 132, 133 of 8th year textbook. Historically, when Muslims invaded disbelievers’ cities, they called this, ‘opening cities’.

¹⁷⁹ Pages 97 and 101 of 8th year textbook and page 85 of 6th year textbook. On page 101 the army in Islamic state was described as making Jihad to raise the Islamic flag and spread the Islamic religion.

¹⁸⁰ Demonstration was mentioned on page 97 of the 7th year textbook and on pages 67, 77, 88, 90, 94, 98 and 99 of 6th year textbook; but it did not mention what kind of demonstration - violent or peaceful.

¹⁸¹ Revolution, revolt is mentioned on pages 118, 119 and 134 of 8th year textbook and on pages 103, 108, twice in 124 131, 132 and 143 of 7th year textbook.

up with sacred texts from the Quran describing the actions of the Prophet and his companions. For example, the fifth year textbook describes how Abu Bakir (the first Khalifat after the Prophet) wanted to implement the will of the Prophet by evacuating all foreigners from Islamic land.

Such terms and references were repeated very frequently, indicating and reinforcing the importance of the (dominant) knowledge. Conversely, terms such as peace, tolerance, equality, friendship, and cooperation were virtually absent. Similarly, there was no positive mention of other ethnic/religious groups in the text - nor involvement in the curriculum making process – and consequently this absence formed a significant part of the null curriculum.

Several main themes were identified through this process and these make up the individual subsections of Section 8.2. A more comprehensive list of the themes and terms used is given in Appendix F, while the next section gives a detailed discussion of my interpretation of the terms and phrases used in, or absent from the textbooks.

As with HRE, my insider/outsider status had various advantages and disadvantages. The disadvantages being the risk of bias, which I minimised as described in Chapter 3.5.4 iv. The advantages were that I could understand the subtleties of the language and further associations with specific terms.

8.2 Interpretation of the HE curriculum

As Fairclough (2001) argues, language fixes commonsense assumptions so they can be ideologically shaped by those in domination. Thus, the repeated use of concepts, such as war, conflict, liberation, invasion, conquest (Fotohat in Arabic), movement, Jihad battles, Emirates states, demonstration, and revolution (as discussed in Section 8.1) contribute to manipulating the students view of reality. For instance, while the concepts of liberation, invasion and conquest are mentioned in many places, they have mixed and confused meanings. When a Muslim Kurdish military force, such as a Muslim military army or a Kurdish emirate military group, entered a region with the support of citizens, it is called liberation; while if it is another group, it is called invasion. Thus, this section, which represents Stage Two of the CDA, interprets and explores how the meanings of terms are used to reproduce dominant power relations in the context of IK social practices and discourse, according to the themes identified in Stage One.

In this part of the analysis, insider knowledge of the previous curricula under previous governments provided more perspective on the current curriculum although there was still the danger of making assumptions based on this and so being blind to changes that had taken place. Therefore, I made particular use of my individual reflection diary and self-reflection generally, as well as careful field notes, as described in Chapter 3, minimize this.

8.2.1 Highlighting Kurdish Nationalism

One can argue that education is never neutral. In relation to this, Bartman (2004:16) argues that for de facto states to justify their existence, they need both *moral legitimacy* and *practical legitimacy*. Moral legitimacy refers to the de facto state's claim to its historical rights over territories, the promises it may have been given over the years and the injustices experienced. Practical legitimacy refers to the de facto state's responsible behaviour as an effective state.

The textbooks indicate that there are no clear border demarcations and no clear definition of Kurdistan. Ancient Kurdistan is mentioned as a large state that extended from the Zakros Mountains to the north east of Mesopotamia.¹⁸² In other eras it had different and wider borders. For example, in the Islamic era the Kurdistan regions included the Azerbaijan area, the Armenia region and others.¹⁸³ Kirkuk is presented as currently part of KRG authority despite the fact that, according to the Iraqi Constitution, it is an independent city as agreed between the government of Baghdad and the KRG. The textbooks also refer to Kirkuk as if it had always been a Kurdish area. For example, it mentions that "Kurds lived between the small Zab and the Sirwan River, their capital was called "Arbekha", which is the Kirkuk of today".¹⁸⁴

The HE textbooks also state that Kurds fought for self-determination, cultural and democratic rights throughout history, but the host governments, that is, those of Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Syria, refused to respond peacefully and instead used violence to annihilate the Kurds. The Kurdish reaction was to further increase their aspirations for independence

¹⁸² Page 53 of 5th year textbook.

¹⁸³ Page 114 of 8th year textbook.

¹⁸⁴ For example, page 53 in 5th year textbook. Also, on page 98 of 6th year textbook Kirkuk and Mosul are shown on the Map of Mosul Willayat (province) where the textbook mention that Mosul Willayat was absolutely a Kurdish Willayat and Kirkuk was the centre at the time.

and nationalism.¹⁸⁵ As Breuilly (2003:32) argues, the goal of nationalism is the desire for autonomy, usually in the form of a sovereign state on behalf of the nation in a national territory. A sense of nationalism of citizens coupled with the collapse of the central government in regions similar to IK, for example, Eritrea in Ethiopia, South Sudan in Sudan, were among the reasons for their desire for separation and independence.

The consequent nationalist discourses were manipulated by both the Kurdish and Iraqi governments. The Iraqi government sees the Kurds as a minority group living in Iraq, thus, they have the minorities rights. Moreover, it considers them to have achieved far more than they deserve. In contrast, the Kurds see themselves as a nation and, as such, feel they have national rights to territories and natural resources. Thus, the Iraqi government uses the concepts of a united Iraq and Arab nationalism, and terms such as ‘north of Iraq’ and ‘KRG government’, to justify making the Kurdish areas part of Iraq, which further increases the Kurd’s sense of nationalism. Meanwhile the Kurds use terms connoting Southern Kurdistan, Kurdistan of Iraq, independent Kurdistan, and see themselves as separate from Iraq.

The principle of nationalism is to instil a sense of common identity on each person. The Kurds have been orientated to this throughout their history but especially since gaining self-rule in 1991, which gave them the power to do so more systematically. The new school curricula teach students loyalty to their homeland of Kurdistan, which included not only the three provinces of Duhok, Erbil and Sulaimaniyah but also Kirkuk with its oil fields (Marr 2012:248). The 2009 Kurdish Constitution demarks the region of the KRG as “specifically including Kirkuk and invokes article 140 of the Iraqi federal constitution to return areas formerly considered to lie within Kurdistan” (Yildis 2011:68). The schools teach in the Kurdish language, the second language being English and there are few Arabic schools dedicated to internally-displaced Arabs from middle and south of Iraq. Thus, the whole of the younger generation does not speak Arabic and ordinary people in Kurdistan hardly consider themselves Iraqis. In an unofficial survey held in 2005 to see whether people wanted to be part of Iraq or separate, 98% voted for Kurdistan independence (Rogg and Rimscha 2007: 833).

¹⁸⁵ For more information about understanding the emergence of Kurdish nationalism, see Vali, Abbas (ed.), *Essays on the Origins of Kurdish Nationalism*, California: Mazda 2003. And Halliday, Fred 2006 ‘Can we write a modernist history of Kurdish nationalism?’ in Faleh A. Jabar and Hosham Dawod (eds.) *The Kurds: Nationalism and Politics*. London: Saqi. Pp 11-20. These two argue that Kurdish nationalism emerged as a result of the division of Middle East states.

In IK, today, there are embassies of many countries and the region has its own Constitution and specific policies for people entering from other countries. For example, people from United Arab Emirates, Kuwait and Qatar are exempted from visa requirements to encourage tourism. However, they need a visa to enter the Iraq area despite the Iraqi Constitution stating: "The federal government shall have exclusive authorities in ... [r]egulating issues of citizenship, naturalization, residency, and the right to apply for political asylum".¹⁸⁶

The HE textbooks put a great deal of emphasis on the past without relating it to the immediate situation of students and this also serves to foster nationalism; for instance, Kurdistan is shown as a much larger area than is currently recognised. The textbook then explains how, after WW1, the international community disintegrated Kurdish society by dividing it between Iraq, Turkey, Iran and Syria. It also discusses how the Kurds have been fighting to get their rights since the emergence of the Iraqi state. Thus, this is likely to give students a picture of shared demoralization, distrust of international communities and the Iraqi government. The Islamic state¹⁸⁷ is described as very strong, controlling many areas and ensuring equality, freedom and justice; which encourages students to live for the past. This is in line with the social structure not only of IK society but also with other Muslim majority Arab states. People always talk about history as if they want to return to it and there are many things to remind people of it, such as names of places, schools and mosques. Even the names of many terrorist or insurgent organizations have historical connotations, and some of these groups aim to bring back the old days.

In the HE textbooks Kurdistan is always mentioned as separate from Iraq; and it is made clear that Kurds never wanted to be part of Iraq. They explain that working with the Iraqi government never worked, that it always betrayed the Kurds, and it was always the Iraqi government's fault that issues were not resolved peacefully. Thus, the HE textbooks contents aim at increasing Kurdish nationalism reflect social cultural practices, thus validating the relevance of Fairclough (1995)'s discourse theory to the study.

8.2.2 War Values

¹⁸⁶ Iraqi Constitution, Article 110, 2005

¹⁸⁷ Islamic state is refers to the beginning of the Islamic calendar in 622 CE. to the Abbasid Caliphate 750 CE, when the Islamic state failed to control the whole Islamic world and started to lose lands.

i. Reasons for Waging War: Teaching War

In IK, the content of textbooks for HE, HRE or any other subject are perceived as rational facts by teachers and students alike. The teachers get the curriculum ready-packed to impart the knowledge to students and the students have to accept this information as absolutely true. The good school is the one who gives the maximum amount of information to students and the best student is the one who memorises the most. Students learn the principles of submission, obedience to teachers and uncritical acceptance of the contents. Moreover, the HE textbooks present a great deal of violence in the history of Iraq and suggest that it was through wars that empires gained territories, states gained self-determination, and resources became secure. Moreover, they leave no space for students to decide issues for themselves, or to have different interpretations, as the information has only one narrative.

However, the textbooks are critical of the pre-Islamic period stating that then wars had been waged without justified causes, whilst they argue that under Islam wars were waged only for good causes. However, we may ask whether these good causes are in tandem with international human rights and even with Islamic principles. The textbooks explain that wars and violence were justified during the Islamic era to spread faith and that it is everyone's obligation and duty to participate, such as in the holy wars and the call for *Jihad*.¹⁸⁸ For example, when the textbooks refer to the wars that Muslims waged against non-Muslims to spread Islam, the Muslims who were killed are called martyrs.¹⁸⁹ They also include a verse from the Quran that recommends people fight, indicating that God had called for war. The verse states, "to those against whom war is made, permission is given (to fight) because They are wronged and, verily, God is most powerful for their aid" (Al

¹⁸⁸ Jihad is a misunderstood concept among many Muslims and non-Muslims as to many it means a holy war while the word in Arabic language actually means struggling or striving. Jihad according to Quran and the Prophet Sayings has many meanings. It can mean internal and external effort to be a good Muslim and tell people about faith. And even if Jihad means to spread Islam by imposition, there are many nonviolent ways of doing so through legal means including negotiation and international laws. If there are no peaceful ways of protecting then there are specific conditions on the use of force. And to many scholars, such as Paige, Satha-Anand, and Gilliatt (2001 pp.7-26), Jihad is not allowed in today's world because contemporary weapons can kill civilians, women, children because in the Quran it states that no plants, civilians, children or women must be hurt in war.

¹⁸⁹ The contextual definition of a martyr (Shahid or shahada in Arabic) is the one who died fulfilling religious commandments to defend Islam and spread Islam and for the sake of their country, such as the peshmergah, whom the textbook considered martyrs. Martyrdom received the best reward in the life hereafter. These days it is difficult to recognise martyrs in the Islamic world because all groups call for Jihad and consider those who perform it as martyrs. Muslims fight Muslims and both call for Jihad over the other.

haj verse No 39).¹⁹⁰ There is also the statement of the first *Caliph*,¹⁹¹ Abu Bakir (who ruled 632- 634), that instigates the violent meaning of Jihad stating that “if a nation left Jihad God will let this nation down”.¹⁹² This highlights the contradiction and double message communicated to students. This may be what led the majority of interviewed teachers to agree that HE is "the history of wars and conquests", despite the fact that Jihad has various meanings, most of which are nonviolent. The Prophet referred to the violent Jihad as the lesser Jihad and the nonviolent one as the greater Jihad, that is, personal purification and sacrifice. As Gomaa stated, “after one battle, the Prophet Muhammad told his companions, “We have returned from the lesser Jihad to the greater Jihad; the Jihad of the soul.” (Ali Gomaa, quoted in Funk and Said 2009:62). However, only the violent meanings of *Jihad* are conveyed in the HE textbooks.

Several reasons were given as justifications for the state to wage war whilst there was a notable lack of mention of the international laws of war, *jus ad bellum* and *jus in bello*, which could have enabled students to understand these arguments. The reasons given for states waging wars are:

1. Making war is beneficial for states to expand their territories and to get other states’ resources.¹⁹³
2. Wars are the only means to liberate occupied areas or to occupy new areas.¹⁹⁴
3. Since both war and peace have no boundaries and rules, states are free to wage war to expand their territories or for deterrence or self-defence. Also, other states are waiting for opportunities to invade; otherwise they will be invaded themselves.¹⁹⁵ This is backed up by the fact that, during the Islamic era, there were no laws prohibiting the state from fighting and there was anarchy in the international

¹⁹⁰ Page 90 of 8th year textbook.

¹⁹¹ The first successor of the Prophet.

¹⁹² Page 97 of 8th year textbook.

¹⁹³ pages 56, 67, 68, 69 of 5th year textbook; page 96, 99 102 121 122 123 127 128 of 8th year textbook; pages 97 103 105 107 108 109 127 132 142; twice on page 143 of 7th textbook.

¹⁹⁴ pages 55, 56, 57, 63, 68, 70, 81 of 6th year textbook. The battles are mentioned in pages 64, 72 of 5th textbook, and pages 77, 99, 90, twice in 103 104 109 110 and 129 of 8th textbook, in the 7th textbook page 128. War of revenge is mentioned on page 91 of 8th textbook and page 87 of 6th textbook. Wars were waged to loot and collect the belonging of the defeated on page 92 and 102 of 8th textbook.

¹⁹⁵ Pages 55, 56, 57, 63, 68, 70, 81 of 6th year textbook. The battles are mentioned on pages 64, 72 of 5th year textbook, and pages 77, 99, 90, twice in 103 104 109 110 and 129 of 8th year textbook, in the 7th year textbook page 128. War of revenge is mentioned on page 91 of 8th year textbook and page 87 of 6th year textbook. Wars were waged to loot and collect the belonging of the defeated on page 92 and 102 of 8th year textbook.

system. States had no trust in each other; they did not have cooperative and reciprocal strong relationships based on mutual benefit, friendship and trust and cooperation. Consequently, the state carried out primitive attacks; for example, the Ottoman Empire attacked the Kurds because it feared the Kurdish demand for independence.¹⁹⁶

4. The Machiavellian approach to conflict resolution, whereby in order to get peace, states must prepare for war, collect ammunition, and arrange meetings on how to wage wars.¹⁹⁷

5. To resolve violent conflict, one side has to win and the other side has to lose. The textbooks portray Muslims as the winners against the disbelievers or non-Muslims who are the losers.¹⁹⁸ Indeed, Muslims are always the winners because, even if they lost a war, their fighters become martyrs when they get killed so they go to paradise, whilst the disbelievers go to hell. This may encourage people to fight for the cause of religion and country as they will get the highest reward in the hereafter. The textbooks praise the people who fought (peshmergah) and became martyrs in wars for the sake of their country.

The HE textbooks argue that peace is obtained through enforcement - peace through strength – and, to have peace, the winning side has to impose peace on the losers.¹⁹⁹ Or a state might request peace when defeated. Hence, to be in peace the state has to be strong, therefore, they first have to fight and damage the enemy before they start. The textbooks overlook that this might be seen as a breach of international law and state sovereignty. There is little suggestion that cooperation and mutual support is essential to build peace between people and states; except in one reference to when the Prophet Mohammed established a constitution in Madinah²⁰⁰ calling for

¹⁹⁶ page 56 of 6th textbook.

¹⁹⁷ Page 53 of textbook 5th and pages 91 107 108 of textbook.

¹⁹⁸ Mentioned 3 times on page 53 and 64 of 5th year textbook; pages 91, 92 104, twice in 108, 110, 117, 118, 119 and 128 of 8th year textbook; pages 95 and 106 of 7th year textbook and pages 66, 70 and 72 of 6th year textbook. The state or groups helped, made alliances and agreed to help one another in waging war together, on page 55 of 5th year textbook; pages 91 and 94 of 8th year textbook the same information were repeated in 8th year textbook; , pages 95 113 121, and pages 124, twice on page 132 of 7th year textbook.

¹⁹⁹ Page 118, 119, 144, and 145 of 8th year textbook; on pages 69, 72, 73, 74, 90, 92, 93, 107, 121, 122, 123, 131, 134, 138, 140, 148 of 8th year textbook; and pages 98, 101, 102, 103, 107, 110, 131 of 7th year textbook.

²⁰⁰ The Madina Constitution was made by the Prophet Mohammed in the first year (622 CE) of his emigration to Madina. It included the rights and duties of people living in the area, especially the Jews. It

cooperation between Muslims and non-Muslims.²⁰¹ The Madinah Constitution was intended to unite people's efforts to protect the Islamic state and ensure that both sides had to bear the cost of war when it occurred, and also to protect non-Muslims if they experienced oppression. Such a statement is a clear indication of equality and mutual respect between Muslims and non-Muslims. However, apart from this, the HE textbooks manifestly lack positive messages to enhance peaceful relations in Kurdish society.

6. States declare war to instil beliefs and impose culture, such as forcing the religion of Islam on non-Muslims.²⁰² The fifth textbook mentions the war that Abu Bakir and other *Caliphs* carried out against groups dissenting from Islam. After the Prophet's death many people left Islam, believing that Islam was finished. Other people argued that they believed in some parts of Islam but they did not believe in all of it, such as the need to pay taxes (*zakhat*)²⁰³ to the state. However, Abu Bakir did not accept their proposals and asserted that they either had to return to Islam and believe fully or he would wage war against them. The textbooks fail to mention the definition of *dissenting from Islam*.²⁰⁴ Whilst they make clear that Muslims are not permitted to change their religion, there needs to be more explanation about the concept of dissenting from Islam and its applicability to contemporary times.

The prohibition on leaving Islam contradicts basic human rights principles whereby everyone has the right to practice and hold the religion they wish without discrimination or persecution. However, the HE textbooks in IK convey the message that this was not the case at the beginning of Islam. Moreover, the fifth year textbook

was intended to manage people's everyday affairs and prescribed equality among Muslims and non-Muslims in terms of rights and duties; helping one another in peace and war; refusing aggression, oppression, corruption, against whoever, Muslims and non-Muslims alike. It also covered the right to worship and the right to own property for Muslims and non-Muslims, and stated that no one should be obliged to become Muslim. For more information and to see the full documents, see appendix page 165-169 in Shaaban Abdul Hussein (2011). The question this raises is why Muslim people and states do not follow this constitution that is based on equality between Muslims and non-Muslims.

²⁰¹ Page 89 of 8th year textbook.

²⁰² Pages 64 of 5th year textbook, the Prophet declares war to spread Islam.

²⁰³ Zakhat is the third pillar of Islam and requires giving out a set portion of one's wealth to charity.

²⁰⁴ People leaving Islam are not accepted back into Islam. This means that when people become Muslims they are obliged to stay Muslims otherwise God will not accept them without their repentance and agreement not to repeat it. Leaving Islam is a significant debate among Muslims and although there is a consensus among scholars that this should be so, one may question how this can be applied in the era of globalisation, interdependence and international human rights. One can also argue that in Alhudabia, the reconciliation between Muslims and the Quraish tribe, the Prophet agreed to free people who leave Islam and join the Quraish, although the Quraish did not reciprocate.

describes how the Quraish tribe, the Muslim's ancestors, prevented Muslims from practicing their religion. Muslims were persecuted, tortured, expelled and displaced because they changed from their ancestor's religion to Islam. Thus, they have no right to persecute people because of religious changes and some may argue that it was not right for Muslims to also impose fines on people who were not Muslims in the Islamic state, thus, coercing people to change religions.

However, although the textbooks assert that Islam was the religion of mercy and non-Muslims should be given the choice to practice their religion freely, they do not allow any room for questioning the issue of imposing Islam on others. In fact, when the HE textbooks describe how the Islamic state was established and Muslims fought and invaded other states to spread Islam, they term this liberation. However, one may argue that the "disbelievers" clearly did not want Muslims to rule them, nor to pay compensation for being non-Muslim since the textbooks, themselves, state that many non-Muslims fought back against the spread of Islam. However, the information is described in the textbooks as a matter of fact; valid, reliable and to be uncritically accepted.

7. Lastly, both the fifth and seventh year HE textbooks explain that the state should use force to resolve internal conflicts and maintain power.²⁰⁵ The textbook for fifth year explains that when Caliph Ali faced internal revolt he declared war against those opposing him,²⁰⁶ but none of the textbooks provide sufficient explanation as to the circumstances nor do they indicate that this might contradict HRE and related values.

Defending one's state by all means is presented as something to value and be proud of and the textbooks do not provide any space for questioning this or for the concept that citizens can disagree with the state policies and political views. This is a common phenomenon throughout and a similar message is repeated in different textbooks - that groups or the state are able to conduct attacks and military campaigns at will, and that strong states do not withdraw. There was no indication that states might concede goals to save lives.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵ Pages 128 and 143 of the 5th year textbook: 'The king has done everything to stay in power, killed all the suspects'. Pages 109, 111, 134, 128, 129 and 132 in the 7th year textbook.

²⁰⁶ Page 67 of 5th year textbook.

²⁰⁷ Pages 53, 54 and 61 of 5th year textbook and 102 in 7th textbook

ii. The Outcomes of Wars

HE textbooks were not only weak in terms of challenging the justifications for going to war, they were also hesitant to indicate the potential costs and the possible outcomes that might not necessarily lead to peace and justice. The author's examination of the HE textbooks revealed an insistence that all means should be used to maximise damage to the other side in a conflict situation. These even included using animals, such as elephants, as weapons.²⁰⁸ They made clear that in wars it was acceptable that people's belonging and property were spoiled, damaged and looted, people were killed²⁰⁹ and cities destroyed.²¹⁰ Furthermore, while states could use military power to defeat another state, there was no attempt to make students aware of the international law of *jus in bello* nor how this relates to *jus ad bello* conventions. This is in line with the current conflicts, in which there is no implementation of *jus in bello* and often more civilians are killed than combatants.

Furthermore, there was no attempt to link the information about war with the current wars and conflicts in the world or the region although there are significant differences between current wars and the wars presented in the textbooks. Mary Kaldor (2005:212, 221) argues that the end of the Cold War led to a reduction of interstate wars but an increase in civil wars and states are no longer the primary actors in war; they have been replaced by "groups identified in terms of ethnicity, religion, or tribe", and such forces rarely fight one another in a decisive encounter. She further argues that sometimes real objectives are altogether absent and combatants aspire to maintain a state of conflict because it provides them with lucrative economic benefits. For example, al-Qauida in Iraq and Syria, and political militia groups in Iraq (Kaldor 1996: 505-514). Such insight would be very beneficial for students to understand the root causes of the conflicts, how they might have been avoided and what conditions can prevent such violence and devastation, especially as they are still occurring and seriously affecting IK society. Students also need understanding of how these wars are in breach of international laws; rather than simple descriptions. There was also no mention of the role of the international community in intervening for peacemaking and post-conflict reconstruction, or even of the role of the UN and other regional bodies in preventing violence, providing peacekeeping missions

²⁰⁸ Page 61 of 5th year textbook, 75 of 8th year textbook.

²⁰⁹ Pages 60 and 67 of the 5th year textbook. In the 8th year textbook, pages 92, 70 men were killed and 70 men were captured, and pages 104-106. Page 92 the same information repeated, and pages 108 and 111 the martyr of Obeid and Almazni. The 7th year textbook, pages 121, 126.

²¹⁰ Page 61 in 5th year textbook and page 75 in 8th year textbook. In page 119 of 6th year textbook, the destruction of *Mahabad*.

and facilities for mediating and resolving conflicts. Despite the changing nature of warfare, it still causes violence, destruction and poverty, HE in IK fails to make these links or to provide the opportunity for teachers and students to discuss and investigate them. Without this kind of discussion, what is the purpose of studying HE?

Overall, the issues presented promoted war-like values in resolving conflicts and almost all conflicts ended because one side won. Even peaceful demonstrations are described as being legitimately curbed by violent means. This is in line with the current situation in both IK and Iraq.²¹¹ It gives the opposite message to the theory that violence breeds violence and peace breeds peace, indicating to students the likely and legitimate response of the state to any protest. There is also no suggestion that, according to peace-based theories, the reason there is no stable peace between states is that peace had only been achieved through violent methods; and the result of wars is more wars, relapse of wars, conflicts, invasions, and violent demonstrations.²¹² This can only teach students violence, and that strategies such as war and conflict are solutions and desirable means to achieve liberation and independence. However, while this was the case in the majority of the textbooks examined, some peace values and peace-orientated constructive ways of resolving conflicts were presented, as described in the next two sub-sections.

8.2.3 Peaceful Forms of Conflict Resolution

Although not as prevalent as instances of resolving conflict through war, several peaceful methods of doing so were mentioned and are worth considering. To facilitate the analysis these were categorised as avoidance, arbitration and ‘diplomatic’ methods.

i. Avoidance

The textbooks explain how conflict avoidance was used by the Muslim role model, the Prophet Mohammed, to avoid fighting the Quraish tribe when they persecuted and tortured

²¹¹ Page 118 and twice on 119 of 8th year textbook; page 122 of 7th year textbook; and on pages 78, 94, 100 of 6th year textbook.

²¹² On page 60 of the 6th year textbook the result of the battle of *Chaldiran* is mentioned, stating that Kurdistan was divided between the *Ottoman* and the *Safawi* states. On page 61 of the 6th year textbook, it mentions that the outcome of a violent demonstration was to liberate the Kurdistan area from the *Safawi* state. On page 62 of the same, the outcome of the Ottoman and Kurdish agreements was the inheritance rule and independence for Kurdish princes; and that they both should help each other in war and military affairs. On page 119 of this textbook, it states that the Iran government agreed with the Soviet Union to withdraw from Iran so Iran could attack the Kurds. Thus, even the agreement between states and groups were made for the sake of war, not peace.

Muslims, by migrating to Ethiopia.²¹³ It was important for Muslims to leave so as to be in peace, as they were weak and having no contact between both conflicting parties provided time for resentments to subside and to find a permanent resolution.²¹⁴ In relation to this, the “contact theory” postulated by Allport (1954)²¹⁵ indicates that contact is significant for increasing conflict in some contexts whilst it is essential for making peace in others.

In this, the HE textbooks reflect contemporary methods of resolving conflict in the IK context. Although, they mention neither benefits nor disadvantages, the avoidance method fits well with the character of many Kurdish people who prefer to abstain from conflict,²¹⁶ rather than concede goals; and once someone has made a stand about avoiding the conflictual party, it is very difficult for them to return to the situation and resolve it. Despite this, it is the most recommended way to resolve conflicts in IK although, in reality, it leads to further distance between the parties and resolution often becomes more difficult as time passes. This is cause for concern because people do not accept self-criticism nor cultural values that seek to resolve conflict by different means.

In general avoiding conflict means accepting the status quo and oppression rather than seeking to be a catalyst of change. During the field research, people kept expressing sentiments such as: “Why should I be a catalyst of change, I will live with it like all other people in society and let other people be the catalyst.”²¹⁷ This attitude maintains inequality and structural violence within society by accepting the lack of rights, being satisfied with this and doing nothing to change it.

ii. Arbitration

Arbitration includes formal (court system) and informal, traditional and religious methods of conflict resolution. It is the formal method of resolving conflict in most Muslim majority states as the holy Quran mentions it as a method of resolving conflict. Parties agree to have a third party intervene as an arbitrator to resolve their conflict and both parties have to accept their decision. The concept of arbitration is raised in eighth year textbook, where it states that the Prophet Mohammed acted as an arbitrator before Islam

²¹³ Called Habasha at that time

²¹⁴ Page 62 of 5th grade textbook

²¹⁵ For more information on contact theory see Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: Perseus Books.

²¹⁶ This is common speech attributed to the Kurds as they say once a Kurdish man says no, he means no, and he will not change his mind.

²¹⁷ This a common speech

and during the early Islamic period.²¹⁸ Elsewhere in the same book, it describes how the Prophet arbitrated among the Quraish clans during the reconstruction of the *Kaabah*.²¹⁹ The conflict was about the honour of placing the Black Stone in the *Kaabah*. For five days, the clans debated whether to go to war, but Mohammed intervened in the conflict before it escalated. He placed the Stone on a piece of cloth and asked each clan chief to hold an edge of it. Then, he ordered them to lift the stone together and he himself placed it in the proper place in the Kabah.²²⁰

In Kurdistan society, arbitration is used mainly in resolving family disputes such as divorce and there are many women's NGOs involved in traditional arbitration to avoid court-proceedings. Thus, many issues, such as vendettas and men deserting women, are resolved through arbitration by tribal leaders. The government has established many NGOs to manage and resolve social cultural conflicts through arbitration.²²¹

iii. Diplomatic Ways of Resolving Conflicts

A "diplomatic way" of resolving conflict is described in the HE textbooks as a means to approach non-Muslims using the law and payment of taxes to develop and manage communication between conflicting parties so as to resolve issues peacefully. Although the textbooks present it as a peaceful and diplomatic way for Muslims to avoid wars with non-Muslims, it actually teaches a violent way of resolving conflicts since there is an implicit message that they must cooperate with the state or face violent punishment. According to the textbooks, the Islamic state sent messages to non-Islamic states to either convert to Islam or face war, or pay *Jizya* (a fine for being non-Muslim and living within Islamic state).²²² The books called this process, "a diplomatic way of resolving conflict", although it contradicts the principles taught in HRE because imposing culture or belief is

²¹⁸ In the 8th year textbook page 77 people accepted the arbitration to prevent conflict. It mentioned in the textbook that the prophet *Muhammad* was used as an arbitrator to resolve conflict between two tribes (*Aos and Kazrej*).

²¹⁹ Kaabah is a sacred place in Saudi Arabia, where people perform pilgrimage and which people face when they perform praying outside Mecca in Saudi Arabia.

²²⁰ This story is mentioned on page 77 of the 8th year textbook.

²²¹ Although arbitration differs from mediation because of its legally binding character, and some claim that resolving social problem has no need to be legally binding, people in the society are more bound by cultural norms than by legal norms. For example according to cultural norms, a man's statement in front of people is more binding than a legal statement or court oath.

²²² The war against people dissenting from Islam started after the Prophet's death, and continued during the reigns of Abu Bakir Caliphate (R. 632-634CE), Umar Caliphate (R. 634-644CE), Uthman (R. 644-656CE), and Ali (R. 656-661CE). Pages 99 and 107 of 8th year textbook, it states that *Abu Obeide* sent a message to people in *Alquds* to enter Islam or face war. In page 109, 110, 111 of 8th year textbook Muslims troops patrolled all the way to the city to make it surrender and oblige people of *Alquds* to sign a convention.

in breach of UDHR. However, the messages communicated are in line with the IK hierarchical society and values and the schools structure.

Other methods of reconciliation were presented in several places in the HE textbooks illustrating contradictory approaches. The peaceful approach was presented in the section on the history of Islam, when the Prophet takes part in the *Sulih Alhudaibia* reconciliation agreement.²²³ Although the textbooks did not elaborate much on this case and gave very brief information about the incident, this is a very good example of the peaceful approach of reconciliation because, although the Prophet was on the stronger side, he still preferred peace to war. The textbooks do not explain how to get an agreement, simply that Mohammed bargained with the Quraish tribe and, to achieve peace, conceded that worshipers need not pilgrimage that year (by divine command). However, he also bargained with the Quraish to allow people who left Islam to return to their Quraish tribe and accepted Quraish people who converted to Islam. This example could support the argument for Islam's acceptance of freedom to leave Islam but it is not mentioned in the textbooks.

The other approach described was a negative approach in which reconciliation was presented as the weapon of the weaker side, on the grounds that negotiations were always requested by the weak. Consequently, when a state could not fight, and demanded reconciliation, the strong side was in control.²²⁴ Most often, the reconciliations and negotiations described in the history textbooks support this. Conflicting parties also used negotiation and reconciliation to buy time or as a way of tricking the other party. In the textbooks, the negotiators had no faith in the negotiation, nor the intention to truly accept reconciliation. Consequently, negotiations were repeatedly broken off and agreements were reneged on, as described in Chapter Four; or the state used negotiation as a way of misleading the other party, breaking any reconciliation achieved at the first opportunity.²²⁵

²²³ The Sulih Alhudaibya (Alhudaibya reconciliation) peace agreement between Prophet Mohammed, representing the state of Madina, and the Quraish tribe, representing the state of Mecca, took place in March 628 CE. The agreement was for ten year truce between the two sides. The main conditions of the reconciliation were that anybody from the Quraish could go to Mohammed side without parental consent whilst anybody from Mohammed's side who went to the Quraish would not be returned to Mohammed. The Muslims would not do pilgrimage that year but the following year. So two peace lesson could be extracted from this: (1) the agreement was made despite the Prophet being in a better position and his followers being discontented with it; and (2) it was made despite conceding the divine worship of pilgrimage that year, and not returning people to Quraish when converted to Islam and vice versa of not returning people who converted to the Quraish.

²²⁴ Mentioned on pages 92, 110, 119, 128, 138 of 8th year textbook and on page 128 of 7th year textbook.

²²⁵ For example, the negotiations with the Jews on pages 63 and 64 of 5th year textbook. Also, page 145 of the 8th year textbook and page 112, 129 of the 7th year textbook

This negative approach to reconciliation and forgiveness is very much in line with the cultural context of IK society. To most people the bravest person is the one who does not forgive but who fights back and gains revenge. The one who first attempts reconciliation, or who concedes goals, is seen as weak and becomes stigmatized in people's minds, so people feel ashamed of initiating forgiveness and reconciliation. In the current situation of Iraq, the Iraqi politicians have always had reconciliation in their plan but it has never been effective. It has remained on the agenda since the regime change in 2003 because every party has their own goals and do not want to concede anything.

8.2.4 Peace Values (Teaching Peace)

Despite this ineffective approach to reconciliation and the general emphasis on war values, the textbooks also present some peace-orientated values. In this context, they discuss the role and responsibilities of the state to provide services to people and to look after them. For example, that “the state has the responsibility to take care of their citizens by providing services and building society's infrastructures such as houses and cities”.²²⁶ One textbook also asserts that the state fostered “economic development and the provision of social services such as schools being built, newspapers being issued, house publishing”.²²⁷ Others mention that “states managed people's affairs and looked after its citizens”.²²⁸ Other peace values are mentioned, such as equality between people, (referred to only in one place),²²⁹ and related concepts such as tranquillity,²³⁰ friendship,²³¹ stabilisation, security,²³² brotherhood²³³ and harbouring persecuted people²³⁴ are mentioned in a few places. Several people, such as Omer Khalifa and Omer Bin Abulaziz, are mentioned in relation to their reputation for social justice; however, the textbooks do not provide explanations or

²²⁶ Pages 54, 56, 73, 66, 67, 70, 71 of 5th year textbook, pages 124 143 of 8th year textbook and page 103 in 7th year textbook.

²²⁷ Page 67, 74, 84, of 6th year textbook

²²⁸ Pages 59, 63, 65, 67 of textbooks 5th, and on pages 123 102 of textbook 8th.

²²⁹ Page 69 of 5th year textbook

²³⁰ Page 113 of 8th year textbook

²³¹ Page 108 of 7th year textbook

²³² Pages 123 124 128 132 and 136 in 7th year textbook. Peace on pages 138 of 8th year textbook and 124 of 7th year textbook and on page 66 of 6th year textbook.

²³³ The brotherhood principles that the Prophet created between *Mohajeren* and *Ansar*, forbidding animosity and making promises is referred to on page 63 in 5th year textbook and it is repeated on page 88 in 8th year textbook.

²³⁴ It states that Ethiopia harboured the persecuted Muslims on page 82 of 8th year textbook.

examples demonstrating their sense of justice in relation to the principles of IHR or other contexts.²³⁵

There is a little discussion or reference to concepts such as forgiveness. For example, one textbook at one point mentions that the Prophet forgave the Quraish people despite the crimes they committed;²³⁶ although several textbooks refer to Quraish crimes, nowhere else do they mention that the Prophet forgave them. There are also many incidents and stories of forgiveness and tolerance in Islamic history that would have been appropriate to have mentioned in the textbooks. These could be very useful because the most difficult problems among Iraqis relate to accepting or forgiving the other community. This is especially important in Iraq as Shia and Sunni are still in conflict.²³⁷ Their differences are based on incidents that occurred long ago in history; for example, who should have become the first Caliph after the Prophet Mohammed.²³⁸ Forgiveness is especially needed in Iraq and the Middle East at a time of intensifying hatred among different ethnic groups in Iraq.

In fact, there are many examples of peace values in Islamic history and in different interpretations of Islam. There are four traditional legal schools of thought in Sunni Sharia, they are *Hanafi*, *Hanbali*, *Maliki*, and *Shafi*. Thus, people can benefit from this diversity, especially as some of these schools are more tolerant than others. For example, the Maliki School is more open to adopting innovative methods of interpretation such as *Al Maslaha Almursal*, (considering public interest). This concept makes Sharia responsive to the people's needs (El Hajjami 2009). Shaabban (2011:95) argues that,

"the Quran talked and confirmed freedom of worships in 100 verses, confirming times freedom of worships for non-Muslims, freedom of worships in general, not obliging anybody to convert to any religion and the obligation of respecting the other religions".

However, the HE content shows more values relating to wars and violence than peace, which reflects the current situation in many Muslim majority Arab states where

²³⁵ Pages 56, 66, 67, 69 of 5th year textbook; pages 101 102 and 107 of 8th year textbook; page 98 of 7th year textbook.

²³⁶ It has been referred to only once on page 94 of 8th year textbook.

²³⁷ This was written before the uprisings in 2014, however, forgiveness is even more relevant in the current situation (November 2014)

²³⁸ The Shia say that Caliph Ali should have taken power before the Prophet's other companions but in fact Ali was the last of the four Caliphs after Prophet Mohammed

killing, maiming and torturing are widespread, as are marginalisation and discrimination. This indicates the difficulties involved in establishing a peaceful coexisting society with a globally acceptable education system and that is free from discrimination and violence among different factions. This is in line with Freire's (1998:40) words:

"As one might expect, authoritarianism, will at times cause children and students to adopt rebellious positions defiant of any limit, discipline, or authority. But, it will lead to apathy, excessive obedience, uncritical conformity, lack of resistance against authoritarian discourse, self-abnegation and fear of freedom."

8.2.5 Ways of Gaining Power

The HE textbooks present several different ways of gaining power. One section mentions elections, discussions and consultations about possible leaders in the Islamic era.²³⁹ For example, the four *Khulafa* of Islam became Muslim leaders through referenda, whilst King Faisal became king of Iraq, undemocratically, through a fake election.²⁴⁰ Throughout the history of Kurdistan, power has always been gained through inheritance, or by a tribal leader becoming leader of his province. Thus, the HE textbooks very much reflect the current context of the IK society.

Although official power in IK is now gained through election, the KRG is in a transition period of democratisation and there is still a lack of democratic behaviour as the structure of the society is tribe-based. Scholars have a consensus on the difficulties of building democracy in the tribal state system. For example, Randall Parker stated: "How can we transform Iraq into a modern liberal democracy if every government worker sees a government job as a route to helping out his clan at the expense of other clans?" (quoted in Aziz 2011:158). Thus, although there are free elections, people give their votes to their relatives and their tribe elects leaders because people feel more loyalty to the tribe than to the nation and this makes it difficult to build a fair government system. Thus, the transformation of IK needs a reformed education system so people can be aware and critical of their structural context.

²³⁹ Mentioned on page 65 of 5th year textbook, and page 97 of 8th year textbook.

²⁴⁰ On page of the 6th year textbook, it mentions that a fake referendum was used to put King Faisal in power. On page 112 of the textbook, it describes how *Kathi Mohammed* was elected to be leader of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan.

Thus, the issue of political power is very much linked to the cultural context of the values and feelings in society, that is, hierarchal and very much based on favouritism and corruption. For example, for a simple position in the university, *wasta* (favouritism) plays a large part in deciding who is to hold the position, which depends on their political party and/or tribe.

8.2.6 Gender Sensitivity

There are gender mainstreaming issues in the HE textbooks with women's issues and roles, in particular their role in history, being mentioned very rarely.²⁴¹ This is despite the fact that women fought shoulder to shoulder with men, and there have been many women leaders, such as Layla Zana, that did great acts in Kurdish history. Moreover, although the textbooks mentioned that women's rights were written as the will of the Prophet, there is no discussion about it.²⁴² The images are also biased towards men: there are 31 images of men and no images of woman in the sixth year textbook; two pictures of men and none of woman in the eighth year textbook; two pictures of men and none of woman in the fifth year textbook; and four pictures of men with none of woman in the seventh year textbook. This reflects the patriarchal nature of IK society.

Kurdistan is based on traditional, patriarchal cultural and religious norms. All which work to undermine women's roles as understood in human rights terms. Thus, the school system needs to play an important role in fostering gender equality by including more subjects related to women's specific situation and discussing women's issues in class. More positive women's roles should have been included in the curricula rather than just reflecting the cultural tradition that dismisses women and favours men.

However, it seems that schools find it especially difficult to change the societal structure concerning women's rights and their integration into the public sphere. The women teachers the researcher interviewed talked of the difficulties in making interactions and communication easy between males and females. A female teacher in a focus group stated:

²⁴¹ Women are mentioned in few places in the textbooks: on page 90 of 7th year textbook students are given an example of drawing to express that it is woman; on page 143 of the same year textbook it states that women were unable to be rulers; and on page 114 of 6th year textbook it states that men and women attended the raising of Kurdish flag in *Mahabad* government.

²⁴² Page 95 of 8th year textbook

"That is the way females are brought up, taught, and parents' interference in schools hinders our jobs in easing the interactions. ... We sometimes get complaints from parents because their daughter has been sitting beside a boy in primary school".²⁴³

Another interviewed teacher argued that girls and boys interacting freely "has led many parents to enrol their daughter to separate schools even if the school is far away".²⁴⁴ Teachers in one focus group asserted the difficulties of mixed education schools and that "there is a high prevalence of females bullied by male students".²⁴⁵ One teacher explained this in a focus group:

"We find it difficult to make groups and mix boys with girls, and even to separate them. Male teachers keep bothering girls whether by gestures or staring at them, and girls keep complaining. We find it difficult to do something about it. Girls go home and complain to their parents. At the very least, their parents come to the school to complain; or they move their girls to another school".²⁴⁶

The teachers argued that nowadays mixed schools are decreasing and the majority acknowledged the difficulties experienced in mixed schools, especially in the seventh year and above. However, there was a consensus among the interviewed teachers that mixed education has to start at pre-school level and continue till the end of education so the interactions between female and male will be normal.²⁴⁷

8.2.7 History Education Exercises

The exercises in the textbooks are the most important part of the curriculum in terms of assimilating information as they give students opportunities and time to discuss and participate in the classroom. They are usually at the end of the sections at which point the students should have the ability to reflect on the subject and to relate it to their social context, and so better understand the issues. However, almost all the questions found in the HE textbooks are recall questions. Thus, the students just have to repeat what it is written.

²⁴³ Interview with a teacher in a focus group in a Sulaimaniyah school 20/12/2012

²⁴⁴ Interview with a teacher in Sulaimaniyah 20/12/2012

²⁴⁵ Interview with a teacher in a focus group in a Sulaimaniyah school 20/12/2012

²⁴⁶ Interview with a teacher in a focus group in a Sulaimaniyah school 18/12/2012

²⁴⁷ Very few foundation schools are mixed; all the preparatory schools are separate boys' schools and girls' schools. Boys and girls are mixed at university level in all Kurdistan.

In the fifth year books, there are 55 questions, 54 of which are recall questions. The remaining one requests the students to discuss the importance of Kurdish state media to the Kurdish people. There is only one activity, which is to discuss a statement of Abu Bakir, the first Caliph of Islam. The sixth grade textbook includes 19 recall questions, two homeworks in which students must write a report, three activities where students make a wall chart, and nine reflective questions. There are 22 recall questions in the seventh grade textbook, with no reflective questions and no activities. In the eighth grade textbook, there are 31 recall questions with no reflective questions and only one activity to make a wall chart.

To sum up the HE exercises did not use the opportunity to discuss concepts of peace and how students might benefit from these, or link them to their lives and the reality they experience. There needed to have been more explanation on the subject and exercises to generate discussion, rather than requiring students to jot down words, concepts and statements that they have to uncritically accept as indisputable fact.

8.2.8 Religious Representation

Religious issues dominated the curriculum and focused almost entirely on Islam without validating other religions practiced in IK. Not only were the definitions discriminatory, as but the concepts that the textbooks defined all only had a single definition relating to one approach that was generally identical to the culturally accepted understanding of the term; and which failed to give students a full understanding of its implications. The researcher had thought that the teachers would clarify the concepts during class time. However, in the observed HE classes, the teachers taught the subjects and left out the definition of the concepts altogether. The researcher asked many students about the definition of concepts and they replied that since other definitions of these concepts were not in the contents they were not supposed to know them. Similarly, the teachers responded that they only “teach what is in the textbooks because otherwise students will complain and the teachers would have to include these definitions in the exams.” This section explores how this single-minded representation of issues reflects and reinforces the values of the dominant group at the expense of other groups, and how these were understood by students in the context of their everyday lives.

i. Use of Violence through Martyrdom

The terms, ‘martyr’ and ‘being martyred’ are used repeatedly in the textbooks and presented in a positive way.²⁴⁸ For example, three of the four Khulafa (Muslims leaders) were martyred.²⁴⁹ Martyrdom is a strong concept used by all groups in the Islamic world that means sacrificing oneself for the sake of one’s religion and/or nation; however, the concern is that there are no clear definitions of the concept. The contextual meaning is to fight until one is killed and then one goes to paradise and receives the highest reward. Although the concept is mentioned in the holy Quran and has been used throughout history, its meaning is misused among extremist Islamic terrorist organisations in the area, which may lead students to easily be recruited into such organisations. Thus, it is a great concern that such a concept should be presented without further elaboration and discussion in schools as students will continue to believe in the prevailing socio-cultural understanding of it. In Iraq and IK history, martyrs are remembered and respected in society.

Praising heroes was another issue expounded in the textbooks that may instigate violence and encourage students to develop pro-violence values. This reflects the cultural norm of extolling violent heroes. In IK the heroes are the peshmergah who fight without mercy, and are not scared of being killed as they know they will be martyrs and become symbols of heroism. This is how they are presented in the media, by the teachers and parents, as well as in the textbooks. People throughout Kurdistan have high respect for the peshmergah and, as there are more than 150,000 in IK, the majority of students’ relatives are peshmergah, or martyrs.

There are other concepts, such as Jihad, discussed in the section on reasons for warfare, which are very controversial and might be dangerous, especially for pupils between 11 and 14 years who are developing their knowledge and awareness. Such concepts are likely to instigate violent behaviour in a society already suffering from systematic violence and thus make the environment even more conducive to youth involvement in terrorist organisations or violence.

ii. Discrimination and Symbolic Violence

As Bourdieu and Passeron (1991) argue, securing a monopoly of symbolic violence is a powerful way to control powerless groups; therefore, its presence in the HE contents is of

²⁴⁸ Pages 66 of the 5th year textbook, and on pages 81, 103, 194, 195, twice on 196, 108, 111, 133 and 98 of the 6th year textbook.

²⁴⁹ Umar was martyred in 644 CE, Uthman in 656 CE and Ali in 661 CE

particular interest in the IK context. The textbooks present many discriminative and archaic concepts that were prevalent in the Islamic era and in Kurdish history. Moreover, the meanings that the cultural context gives to many of these give cause for concern within the current framework of globalisation and the interdependence of states. Many of the concepts are narrowly defined, not always using the most useful definition, and not further discussed. For example, the concept of Crusades,²⁵⁰ which is presented in the section on the history of Islam, relates to the old division between Muslims and Christians. Whenever the concept is mentioned, it is redolent with the historical divisions between Christians and Muslims. Crusaders are defined in the textbook simply as “people who came from Europe and attacked Muslims and had Christian symbols on their clothes”.²⁵¹ The description also exacerbates the alienation between Muslims and Christians by dividing the world between the two. This demonstrates the pervasive way in which symbolic violence functions, which is particularly problematic in the current era of globalisation with so many interconnections between Muslims and Christians, as well as the existence of religiously inspired terrorist organisations.

However, the statement of purpose to end discrimination and racism among Muslims that has been proposed by Muslims leaders is introduced in the textbooks.²⁵² Although this is very positive because the different ethnic religious groups in IK need to coexist peacefully and Muslim leaders are seen as role models. However, to be effective, the concept needs to be explained in full indicating why it is stated and how it applies to the current IK context, and the textbooks do not do this. In fact, the HE textbooks did not address non-discrimination beyond referring to religious affiliations and to discrimination between different groups in IK. Hence, they give the impression that in Islamic history Muslim leaders emphasised only non-discrimination among Muslims and not between Muslims and non-Muslims.

For instance, the textbooks describe different methods and systems that Muslim leaders used to differentiate between Muslims and non-Muslims during the Islamic era, after the Prophet’s death.²⁵³ In doing so, they explain that in the Islamic era, the Islamic state used to take compensation from non-Muslims and new converts to Islam. For

²⁵⁰ Pages 71 and 72 of 5th year textbook and on page 127 of 8th year textbook.

²⁵¹ Page 72 of 5th year textbook.

²⁵² Pages 88 and 98 of 8th year textbook and page 95, 96 and 98 of 7th year textbook, it states that the Prophet united all Muslims. In page 65 of 5th year textbook Abu Bakr emphasises that there should be no discrimination among Muslims.

²⁵³ Page 136 of 8th year book

example, in the eighth year textbook it describes that during the rule of Abdul Malik in (685-705 CE) they counted the numbers of non-Muslims to pay taxes, known as *Jizya*.²⁵⁴ On the same page it tells how, in Omer Bn Abdulaziz's time, they cancelled the compensation to be taken from the Christians, Jews, and Yezidis who converted to Islam; whilst, in the seventh year textbook, it explains that in the Abbassi state era (656 CE) there were attempts to end discrimination between Arab Muslims and Muslims of other nationalities.²⁵⁵ The fifth year textbook, also, states that non-Muslims who lived within the borders of Islamic state had to pay Jizya for being non-Muslims, although it was actually levied in lieu of military service.²⁵⁶ Accordingly, Persians, Jews and Christians were given the choice either to convert to Islam or to keep their own religion but pay taxes to the state. Thus, this was a clear indication of inequality and legitimate preferential treatment for Muslims over non-Muslims. Such a message given without facilitating critical review of its current relevance in IK is liable to inspire people to violence and harm the social fabric. Moreover, there is no suggestion of the significance of this, how it might be applied and how it links to the current context of globalisation and international human rights.

This is of particular concern in IK since, although there is a Muslim majority, there are several different religious practices including Christian, Yezidi, Sabai, Buhai, Shabak and others, as discussed in the previous chapter. Moreover, education is centralised in IK and even the segregated schools, such as Christian and Yezidi schools, use the same textbooks. Therefore, this situation is liable to foster resentment and division between Muslims and non-Muslims and to enforce a hierarchy of first and second class citizens based on religious affiliation rather than citizenship and rights. The restricted religious practice that is indicated in the HE textbooks is in line with the socio-cultural practice of IK society where there is no religious freedom. Although sometimes Islamic laws are in accordance with IHR laws, at times they contradict them, especially in areas relating to individual liberties. Therefore, applying IHR laws in Islamic states meets obstacles and the different ethnic minorities living in IK have to rely on and submit to Islamic laws practiced in IK courts.

²⁵⁴ The Muslims used to take Jizya fines from non-Muslims as protection money in lieu of military service. However, the textbooks have not given any elaboration on the terms and it is understood from the HE that non-Muslims had to pay Jizya for being non-Muslims.

²⁵⁵ Page 140 of 8th year textbook, it mentions that the Abbassi state wanted to end racism between the Arabs and non-Arabs.

²⁵⁶ Page 65 of HE fifth year textbook

Thus, the HE textbooks do not acknowledge the religious and ethnic diversity in IK nor do they reflect this through expression of the values of freedom of expression, thoughts and ideas. This reinforces the idea expressed by Bourdieu and Passeron (1990:5) that "all pedagogical action is, objectively, symbolic violence insofar as it is an imposition of a culture by an arbitrary power". The next section explores the historical basis of this deeply entrenched form of violence in more detail.

iii. The History of Islam

The HE textbooks showed that Islam had always strongly differentiated between Muslims and non-Muslims and looked down on other ethnic groups such as Yezidis, Christians and Jews with the different ethnic groups being represented differently. For example, Jews were represented as untrustworthy troublemakers and betrayers who wanted to create divisions between Muslims.²⁵⁷ Christianity and Zaradashti (the Yezidi's religion) were presented as not worthy of worship so as to make many Kurds leave Christianity or Zaradeshti and convert to Islam. For example, one book states that "many Kurds left Christianity and Zaradashti and converted to Islam".²⁵⁸

Other strong statements regarding religious intolerance as presented in the history textbooks are liable to lead to alienation, hatred and divisions between Muslims and non-Muslims, such as the phrase, "expel all the foreigners from the Islamic state".²⁵⁹ This is written as the will of the Prophet and the textbooks state that Abu Bakir (R. 632-634) wanted to implement it. As it is a saying of the Prophet, this can still be applied today. However it is important to give full explanations of such concepts and statements since without this they can be very misleading, especially as they apparently contradict HR principles of equality and fairness and so do not help to build respect between ethnic groups. As they are presented, these concepts lead to other religions practiced in the region not being respected. The textbooks present Islam as the only true religion and saying in one place that "the Prophet Mohammed came to spread the message of Islam to all people".²⁶⁰ And that he is the "messenger to all mankind"²⁶¹ and "Islam is for all".²⁶² Such

²⁵⁷ Page 89 of 8th year textbook

²⁵⁸ Page 114 of 8th year textbook

²⁵⁹ Page 98 of the 8th year textbook

²⁶⁰ Pages 66 and 67 of 5th year textbook, and page 106 of 8th year textbook

²⁶¹ Page 79 of 8th year textbook

²⁶² Page 93 of 8th year textbook

statements in the history textbook undermine and delegitimize other ethnic and religious group and intensify an atmosphere that encourages their marginalisation.

The section dealing with the history of Kurdistan notably lacked representations of the non-Muslim components of society. For instance, the seventh year textbook refers to different ancient groups who lived in Kurdistan, such as Sumarion, Akadyon and Asshoryon, but it does not mention the Yezidis.²⁶³ This tendency was highlighted in the interviews with members of these communities who were unhappy about not being represented in HE. In interview, the ME officials argued that they were not mentioned because they were considered to be Kurdish. However, teachers in the Yezidi communities resented this, arguing that "if [they] were part of the Kurds it should have mentioned they were considered as Kurds".²⁶⁴ The seventh year textbook also mentions that historically the Yezidis religion (Zaradeshti) was the official religion during the *Mydyoon* empire and in the *Mydia* state.²⁶⁵ Yezidis ethnic groups are mentioned in the sixth year textbook when they cooperated with Kurds in revolutions, and at another when the Kurds integrated the Yezidis' area into the Kurdistan area.²⁶⁶ It also states that gradually many Yezidis have converted to Islam. There are many other occasions where the textbooks imply the rightful dominance of Islam. In the eighth year textbook, it mentions that "Muslims were on right direction and their enemy were on wrong direction".²⁶⁷ Moreover, mosques are the only places of worship mentioned.²⁶⁸ Christian churches and Yezidis holy places are not mentioned anywhere in the fifth, sixth, seventh or eighth year HE textbooks.

8.3 Explanation of the Findings

The interpretation presented above indicates that the HE textbook contents represent the dominant group's knowledge, which further legitimises this specific understanding of knowledge. Thus, as hegemonic discourses, they stabilise the meaning so alternatives become harder to conceive and the lack of fair representation of other ethnic groups

²⁶³ Page 94 of the 7th year textbook. On page 105 it mentions *Loleebeen, Kotyoon, Medyoon, Metanyoon, Kashyoon* as the ancient groups lived in Kurdistan.

²⁶⁴ Interview with teacher focus group in Duhok school 16/12/12

²⁶⁵ Page 113 of 7th year textbook.

²⁶⁶ Page 91 and 69 of 6th year textbook.

²⁶⁷ Page 91 of 8th year textbook.

²⁶⁸ Mosques were mentioned twice on page 87 of 8th year textbook; with no mention of any other place of worship anywhere in the HE textbooks.

inevitably exacerbates the oppression of those groups, and resentment on both sides, as discussed below.

8.3.1 History Education and Dealing with the Other

The teaching of the religion and history of one religious group to all ages reflects the domination of that one group; the group in power. In fact, half of the HE of the fifth and eighth year textbooks is about Islamic history. Thus, the students not only study Islamic religion as a specific subject in every year, but they also study Islamic history in the HE textbook of fifth and eighth year. In the light of Bourdieu and Passeron's argument (1977:40-41) that pedagogical work has the function of making the dominated groups internalize values that best serve the interests of the dominant groups, the HE taught in IK is not serving minority groups well.

Moreover, whilst religious education is supposed to reduce prejudices and stereotyping between different ethnic groups, by not teaching the religions of other people in the society, it implies that these are insignificant; hence strengthening prejudices and stereotyping. As Eisler (2000) posits, including certain kinds of information in the curriculum and excluding other kinds effectively teaches children what is, and what is not, valuable. Thus, while purporting to promote understanding and diminish indoctrination in the education process, in effect, the HE curriculum does the opposite. Instead, HE should at least have taught the similarities of the peace values that religions share and that work to build harmony and coexistence; rather than division, discrimination and hatred.

When schools teach only the history of the official religion, education is not fostering the values of democratic diversity, nor is it teaching the values of sharing and the positive role of diversity and the value of opening people's mind to political freedom. Furthermore, it means teaching students one sole approach to the reality of knowledge, narrowing students' knowledge and understanding. It also makes students become extremely obdurate in their religious beliefs and protect themselves from the exposure to other influences. Thus, it further entrenches the distance between the different groups in the communities, which, according to Alport's (1954) assertion of the importance of contact in reducing prejudices and stereotyping, can only be detrimental.

Clearly, the implicit and explicit aims of the textbooks' presentation of the history of Islam relate strongly to the superiority of Islam in God's eyes with other religions having an inferior spiritual status. This contradicts what HRE is attempting to achieve in terms of equality and fairness between ethnic groups. When the schools teach about only

one group's history and religion, it enables assimilation of this group's history whilst excluding that of the others. Hence, students learn about one approach to history that marginalizing the other group; rather than teaching students about diversity instead HE implies that non-Muslim religions are less genuine, a fake reality. This encourages students to divide the world between 'us' and the 'other'; "us" being genuine and superior and the "other" being fake, inferior.

The next section offers an explanation of how this single-minded approach of providing HE in IK influences how the students constitute their social reality and runs counter to any good intentions fostered through the introduction of HRE.

8.3.2 One Approach

In general, the HE curriculum taught one approach to understanding reality: it is always the Kurds who are right, while the Iraqi government and the international community are wrong; the Muslims are right and the disbelievers are wrong - all bad characteristics are attributed to the other and the good qualities to the Kurds, that is, the dominant group that controls the knowledge the students receive. When the researcher asked about the absence of other narratives in the textbooks, teachers in one focus group agreed that,

"the ME are right to give one narrative as it wants to unite people, make them agree on one statement, not make them differentiate among one another. The situation is not stable yet and for us to have different opinions we need another fifty years of self-rule and independence".²⁶⁹

However, scholars, such as Davies (2005c) argue that it is debatable whether such silence does indeed promote harmony or whether it simply leaves the students open to other influences. Thus, as discussed in Chapter Two, it is a highly political and controversial issue when certain knowledge is included in the curriculum while other knowledge is purposefully excluded and the curriculum is often seen as a political and/or ideological tool (Smith and Vaux 2003; Smith 2005).

²⁶⁹ Interview with a teacher in a focus group Erbil school 05/01/2013

The present HE curriculum leaves no doubts and allows no question about other possible narratives: the HE contents are always mentioned as a statement of fact, as if there were no other reality. The information is described in a way that makes clear there is no doubt about its validity and nowhere did the textbooks mention any informational resources for students to discover that there might be other perspectives. For example, the eighth year textbook mentions at one point that, in the beginning of Islam, the number of Muslims that migrated was ten men and four women and elsewhere the number is increased to 83 men and 17 women but it does not mention that the number is an estimate and so may be biased.²⁷⁰ Similarly, the same book quotes the Prophet Mohammed's sayings and the verses of the Quran without indicating where they came from.²⁷¹ This right/wrong, white/black way of thinking that never recognises possibilities in between will inevitably serve to narrow down the student's creativity and critical thinking since it does not leave any room for students to search for the truth, nor provide motivation to explore other knowledge.

This failure to provide students with comprehensive knowledge about their cultural reality, or to make them aware that there are many realities to every form of knowledge, means that the students become ignorant, mindlessly waiting for teachers to fill their brains with information. This leads to ignorance as a state of passivity or docility on the part of the students. The blame is then put on the learner who refuses to know. This ignorance is not a problem solely because people lack knowledge but because their lack of knowledge has implications for increasing violence and, particularly, domination: oppression of those who do not know by those who frame how and what the other must know. There are many examples of this especially the lack of concept definitions, such as neglecting to give a full definition of the Jihad concept. The failure to give students enough information or excluding certain information from the school textbooks perpetuates ignorance. When learners do not get the full information, they may seek fuller answers from elsewhere, however biased, or they might strictly adhere to the accepted cultural meanings of their society, however damaging.

Thus, HE is written and taught in a way that is difficult to challenge, that restricts interaction and limits students' knowledge. Narratives are presented as a final truth and the

²⁷⁰ Page 82 of 8th year textbook

²⁷¹ For example verse of Quran is mentioned on page 93 of 8th year textbook, it did not mention in what chapter of the Quran or what verse of which Surah.

power relations at institutional, societal and situational levels contribute to shaping the discourses as learnt by the students. This knowledge both affects the socialisation of Muslims students toward non-Muslims and undermines non-Muslim's own sense of validity. Rather than revealing these power relations, the whole process of learning simultaneously conceals and exacerbates societal conflicts.

8.4 Conclusion

People throughout history have used education as a tool for disseminating knowledge that serves the dominant group's interest and, as Eggins (2004: 10) states, "no text is free of ideology. To use language at all is to use it to encode particular positions and values". Thus, although the HE textbooks ostensibly provide a straightforward description of events in history, which is how students and teachers in IK schools understand them, they are written in a way that ensures students lack an understanding of the implications of what they are learning. As one interviewed teacher argued, "HE is about knowing facts, story events, dates, numbers".²⁷² The teachers further argued that students are not skilful enough to challenge the text and understand diverse narratives. Also students usually only have one book by one author to study, therefore, they are not given the knowledge or opportunity for discussion nor to look for different interpretations. This makes the concept of hegemony and its ideological implications particularly salient because the texts attempt to represent society through an accepted and common interpretation that becomes embedded in societal consciousness without awareness.

Fairclough's (1992) use of the concept of 'hegemony' to describe the process by which discourse establishes itself as "commonsense" - whereby people practice prejudice without being aware of it - is especially relevant in the context of history education in IK. There is one narrative approach, in which concepts and values from the dominant knowledge curriculum are presented repetitively, and the students are passive, docile recipients of the knowledge in the textbooks and knowledge presented by teachers. Thus, as in HRE, the null and hidden curricula are as significant as the overt knowledge

²⁷² Interview with a teacher in Sulaimaniyah 18/12/2012

presented. Furthermore, to be effective in terms of PE values, HE must be enquiry based and open to different narratives, interpretations and critical debate.

Significantly, there are concepts and statements in HE that foster hatred and discrimination between Muslims and Christians rather than tolerance and understanding; they also build distance and divisions among different ethnic groups in IK society. Scholars warn of the dangers of the reproduction of these concepts. Van Djik (1997) argues that discourse plays an important role in the production and reproduction of social prejudices (cited in De Wet 2001:100). Without the opportunity to question these, students have little choice but to reproduce them.

The HE contents are written in a way that ensures consistency as a series of topics, each one relating to another and all very much integrated. Since the subjects are connected the students find them interesting. The subjects are similar and within the same subject area. But, the curriculum is teaching about the history of IK, Iraq, and of Islam and the way it is presented directly and indirectly represents a trend toward passive war education. Moreover, the contents about the history of Kurdistan and the history of Islam are considered sensitive. Thus, this makes it especially difficult for teachers and students to challenge existing information. Whilst the existence of so many wars and so much violence in HE, as well as anarchy and marginalisation of Kurdish issues from the international community, makes students pessimistic and reinforces war values, an effect that needs to be counteracted with a more balanced approach.

Another relevant assumption of socio-cultural theory is that human thought and action is embedded in social contexts that extend beyond the individual. Thus, children learn much about history from their community and family, and through the media. As discussed throughout this chapter, this reflects the violent prevalent in society and rather than providing a more balanced perspective, the things they are taught in HE in schools are similar. Thus, this makes the information unchallenged and further embedded in their minds as a single narrative.

In terms of identifying symbolic violence, the knowledge in (or absent from) the curriculum contents is a first and easy step to identify. In the next chapter, the methods of conveying this knowledge will be explored since, as Page (2008:51) states, “in peace education, how one teaches is just as important as what one teaches”. Thus, the method of teaching is considered the central focus of pedagogic action.

Chapter Nine: Analysis of Teaching Methods

This item has been removed due to 3rd party copyright. The unabridged

Lannert (2003:62)

9.0 Introduction

In Chapters Seven and Eight, the respective content of the HRE and HE curricula were explored. However, how the new system put into practice is crucial in terms of ensuring its effectiveness. Therefore, after reviewing the ME's aims, this chapter analyses current methods of teaching as observed in the fieldwork and discusses them from a peace-orientated perspective. It then examines the teachers' approaches to implementing the new curricula and the challenges facing the introduction of the changes, including those endemic in the social context. Following this, the chapter discusses how these practices might be transformed through a dialogical approach to encourage critical thinking and finishes by considering the positive and dynamic role that teachers could play.

9.1 Applying Stage One of the CDA to the Texts relating to Teaching Practice

In critically analysing the interviews, observation notes and documents relating to teaching practice, a similar process was followed as for the HRE and HE curricula. Relevant terms that I identified in Stage One included terms used by teachers in the field observations to discriminate and create divisions among students of different ethnic groups, such as identifying students by their religion, biased responses to wrong answers, calling students by nasty names. In the books explaining the teaching methods to teachers, I noted words and phrases such as 'group system' and terms relating to methods of questioning students. In the interviews transcripts, I examined terms revealing the implications of the teaching methods in practice, such as what teachers knew about the group system and what questioning methods they used (one way interaction with the teacher asking and students responding). In general, I noted any terms that related to the practices involved in students' consumption of knowledge; how students socialise and internalise the knowledge from textbooks and teaching methods; what teachers sought to transmit to students; how the ME

supported/responded to these practices; and how terms relating to peaceful and violent values, and peace education perspectives.

In relation to this, it was significant that the contents of the textbooks and teachers' knowledge were considered the only sources of knowledge by teachers and students alike, especially so as there were no libraries in the schools. Moreover, the teachers' guide book was not available to all teachers, nor was it translated into Kurdish Bahdinani. The teacher's desk and position was always at the front of the classroom indicating teachers' control and authoritarian attitudes. In addition, the time constraints, crowded classrooms, and multiple schools shifts were frequently cited as obstacles to teachers initiating and/or implementing better PE.

Thus, Stage One of the analysis revealed the lack of clarity in the ME's aims and objectives, lack of support for teachers and their reluctance to adopt the new methods of teaching. Moreover, the schools visited lacked access to clear, written and accessible objectives which meant that teachers were unaware of what the ME intended to achieve through the new methods. In Stage Two of Fairclough's (2001) model, these practices were interpreted with respect to ME policy, peace education values and the IK social context, as discussed in the following sections.

9.2 Interpretation of Findings

This section considers how the ME's new teaching methods were promulgated, how they worked in practice and the specific challenges identified in Stage One of the analysis. In this analysis, I was particularly aware that, as an insider, previous personal experience of IK teaching methods may have coloured my view of present methods, especially as childhood experiences are so formative. I minimised this risk by taking precautions such as careful field notes, individual reflection diary and self-reflection, as described in Chapter 3. On the other hand, as an outsider, I was more aware of other ways to teach and did not assume that the methods used were the only effective ones.

9.2.1 The ME's New Teaching Methods

"Educational reform must start with how students learn and teachers teach, not with legislated outcomes" (Brooks and Brooks 2001:3).

The ME introduced the new education system arguing that the new curriculum contents

required “new participatory methods of teachings ” (Education and Learning 2012:188). As discussed in Chapter Six, the ministry created a guidebook in 2007 explaining these methods for teachers of human sciences in foundation schools, from Year 4 to Year 9. These involve giving the main role to students so as to “make students more engaged, more involved in the process of learning” (Teacher Guide 2007:4). Thus, the guidebook prescribes letting students “participate in producing knowledge and practice this knowledge through role play; and to use their experiences and primary knowledge and build on these” (Teacher Guide 2007:4). By building students’ self-esteem, the intention is that students freely express ideas and learn skills for developing creativity and self-reliance; while teachers are expected to play a supportive role. Consequently, the new methods should make students more open-minded and accepting of differences by building their capacities to pose questions and to realise that questions may have many correct answers and no wrong answer. The overall aim of the guidebook is to build critical thinking and make education more participatory and cooperative.

Thus, the ME recommends “role play” and group work as ways to tackle discrimination. This involves dividing students into small groups that include children from different ethnicities to encourage students to cooperate together to achieve a shared objective. The book also advocates problem-solving and explains how teachers should use this to encourage students to identify injustices and controversies, analyse them and develop plans to resolve the issues involved. Overall, it argues that education has to change from lecturing and rote learning to “discussion, debating, posing questions and to be based on different interpretations and narratives” (Teacher Guide 2007:4-37).

While these aims are very positive, in practice there is a notable lack of cooperation and coordination among educational stakeholders, in part because the ME strategies lack clarity in their implicit and explicit aims and instructions as to how to implement the new methods. It is difficult for teachers to find out about the new system and its objectives; and how they can cooperate with its implementation. Moreover, although the guidebook was published in 2007, it is still not available in Kurdish Badinani. The researcher could not find a copy of the guidebook with any social science teachers except the director of monitoring of school teachers in Duhok; and this copy was in Arabic. The director said that the guidebook is translated to Kurdish Sorani dialect but has not been translated to Badinani dialect yet. Teachers in the Badinani area understand neither Arabic nor Kurdish Sorani dialect. Only one teacher from the 19 individual interviews and nine focus groups even knew about the guidebook; and he stated “the guidebook is in Kurdish Sorani dialect

and I did not understand it".²⁷³ Furthermore, although the guidebook is translated into the Sorani dialect, teachers from Erbil and Sulaimaniyah (Sorani speakers) knew nothing about it. The ME argued that one copy had been sent to all schools; however, there is more than one teacher of social sciences in each school. The ministry blamed the lack of guidebooks on the teachers, saying that when they transfer to different schools they take the guidebook with them.

Teachers were reluctant to answer questions relating to the aims and objectives of the ME concerning teaching HRE and HE. Many teachers skipped the questions as they lacked knowledge, others answered very shortly, and some were reluctant in what they said. One teacher stated: "We got the textbook and the head teacher told us to teach it, no more, no less. Then, after a while the monitor came and told us the process of exams and how to teach theoretically, thus we do not know the explicit and implicit objectives of the ME".²⁷⁴

Moreover, both the ME and the schools lack written strategies and policies relating to the objectives of the new education. The researcher found that the strategies of the ME conveyed through monitors and the school policies through head teachers are mostly based on oral orders rather than written policy. When I asked a focus group about how teachers get knowledge of ME updates, typical responses were: "We got them verbally from monitors as advice on how to do it"; "We got it from the introduction of the book"; "I don't follow the procedures as I have a lot to teach"; and "I do not know about them".²⁷⁵ Others stated that it is a British system, or a Swedish system, or a group system and they knew nothing more about the new methods. When I asked monitors about written policies to follow, a typical response was: "We had trainings and we get orders from ME from time to time and when it issues new regulations they send them to us".²⁷⁶

Thus, there is a serious gap between the ME aims and implementation of policies and the system as a whole lacks a planned vision, effective implementation mechanisms and commitment of both decision-makers and teachers. The lack of accessible written instructions for teachers may indicate unwillingness of the ME to implement HRE in schools or may be evidence of disorganisation; or both.

²⁷³ Interview with a teacher in a Duhok school 06/12/2012.

²⁷⁴ Interview with a teacher in a Sulaimaniyah school 18/12/2012

²⁷⁵ Interview with a teacher in a focus group in a Duhok school 09/12/2012

²⁷⁶ Interview with a monitor in a focus group in Duhok 01/06/2013

9.2.2 The New System in Practice

Teachers are considered role models for students and the environment in which children are taught is considered the ideal atmosphere for children. Furthermore, as Colenso (2005: 416) asserts, "there are a set of skills, values and behaviours that are best caught, and not "taught", which supports the saying that goes "What I teach is what I know and how I educate is what I am". Therefore, the implementation of education is important for students; and the values, skills, attitudes and behaviour that students pick up from teachers last longer and influence them more than what students get from the contents. In IK, especially, teachers have high status in the eyes of students and parents; and they are also very involved in the learning process. Although as teachers in a focus group argued, "they do not feel part of the process, hence, teachers do not feel responsible".²⁷⁷ Many scholars re-emphasise that teachers should be role models through their peaceful interactions with students (Bretheron et al. 2003; Howard 2003; Bar-Tal 2002; Balasooriya 2007; Shor 1993; Freire 1974; Cardozo 2008; Colenso 2005; Giroux 2009). Teachers in one focus group talked about the great faith that parents have in teachers, one teacher stating that "parents tell us that their children are in our hands and to do whatever we want - beat them, discipline them".²⁷⁸

The ME's focus on curriculum change rather than the whole school structure implicitly communicates to students that the latter is not an important element in the socialization process. This forms a part of the hidden curriculum, which can be defined as any unintended effect of the routines and practices that rule school life (McLaren 1989: x). Thus, behaviours that are rewarded and punished at school are part of the hidden curriculum, as are teachers' training and evaluation and the physical school environment. Scholars assert that this impacts and influences students more than the overt/official curriculum (Slattery 2006:234). Significantly, in the case of the new education in IK, it contradicts the overt curriculum, that is, the official syllabus and lesson plans.

The ME's lack of consideration of the school context fails students further since schools have many shortcomings. In this respect, the hidden curriculum becomes especially significant in that many initiatives that teachers want to implement are not possible, often due to the bureaucracy involved and the existing structure of schools. Teachers also cited time constraints (many schools have double or triple teaching shifts in

²⁷⁷ Interview with a teacher in a focus group in a Duhok school 01/06/2013

²⁷⁸ Interview with a teacher in a focus group in a Duhok school 01/06/2013

one day), physical structures and high student/teacher ratios as obstacles to implementing improvements.²⁷⁹ The impact of the overall difficulty for teachers in fulfilling such objectives in the classroom has been discussed by many scholars (Tarrow 1992:31).

The field observations suggested that teachers were concerned to encourage students to maintain strict moral conduct and to be humble. This is likely to make students too shy and passive to question anything in a way that could raise awareness about political and cultural issues surrounding them. Similarly, the interviews with teachers and my observations indicated that they were telling students that good students were the ones who listened quietly and politely without interruption.

Scholars emphasise the importance of teachers' willingness and motivation in delivering HRE to overcome obstacles (Lyseight-Jones 1991); but the lack of guidance for teachers, and of improvements in school conditions, make teachers less motivated to fully implement the new education system. Consequently, teachers do not motivate students to reason, create, question or solve problems in the class. In this respect, Hester (1994:36) states "motivation is the key to learning". However, the researcher realized that when teachers did not seem to be encouraging students' participation this might be due to the large number of students as well as the teaching style and methodology. Consequently, the new system lacks the wherewithal to enhance motivation within teachers, as one stated, "the good teachers and bad teachers are treated equally. There is no motivation or bonus that encourages teachers to work hard - the ME does not appreciate it".²⁸⁰

i. Current Methods of Teaching

Schools in IK are characterised by an atmosphere of fear, top down teaching methods and lack of inclusion and participation of students through banking education methods. The fieldwork observations confirmed the use of this system. Freire (1970:81-82) argues that in the banking system learners are treated as mere objects: the teachers choose the contents and the pupils accept this; the teacher acts and the learners have the illusion of acting through the teacher; the teacher disciplines and the learners are disciplined; the teacher talks and the pupils listen; the teacher thinks and the learners accept his/her thoughts; the teacher knows everything and the pupils know nothing.

²⁷⁹ Interview with teacher in focus group in a Sulaimaniyah school 19/12/2012

²⁸⁰ Interview with a teacher in a Sulaimaniyah school 18/12/2012

This was demonstrated during my field research, when I attended many classes where students were silent, not participating and mostly listening to teachers without asking questions or commenting. Usually students agreed with everything the teacher said. As I found no exception, I was curious to know why and how this was and asked students about the culture of silence and passive listening in a student focus group interview. Different responses were given, a typical one being, “respect for the teacher”, according to which students see it as a moral duty not to falsify the teacher's knowledge. Others commented that it was habit or “this is how it is and how it has been all the time”. Another mentioned “fear of teachers picking on students and reducing students’ marks”, which students said is common and that “teachers never forget”.²⁸¹ Other students highlighted different reasons, such as humiliation and being laughed at by teachers and colleagues when asking questions. One student mentioned that “the teacher may answer my question in a way that lets the students laugh at me”. Another stated that “asking teachers questions means not listening attentively; teachers may say ‘Where were you?’ And they may make bad comments”. Another stated that they cannot ask questions because “the teacher always knows best, never asks our opinions and always wants definitive answers”.

This indicates that lack of self-confidence and self-esteem on the part of the students and lack of open-ended questions posed by teachers were the main reasons for the culture of silence among students. Hence, students argued it was more in their own self-interest not to make comments or ask the teacher questions and their watchwords were compliance and conformity. This atmosphere makes students weak, manageable and adaptable spectators. Moreover, it will undermine their creativity and so prevent them from becoming catalysts of positive change since the aim of the banking method is to make students fit into society and accept the status quo, rather than transform it.

The education methods regularly used by teachers in IK are a strong illustration of the oppressive nature of the banking method in many ways. This was noticed by the researcher during the fieldwork. Although the ME encourages teachers to use discussion and debate in the new education system, the teachers taught like preachers without a stop or pause and could go for the entire lesson without questions or discussion. One teacher summed up the reasons teachers gave for not giving students more time to participate and ask questions as, “students should understand the subject, it is not that complicated for

²⁸¹ Interview with a student focus group Duhok school 11/12/2012

students; HRE is like a story and general advice".²⁸² To teachers only their narration is important, not what students are taking from the narrative. Thus, the interviewed teachers said they felt that students do not need to discuss the lessons because they understood the contents. But why should students come to school if lessons are only narration?

Similarly, both teachers and students assume that teachers are the only source of knowledge. For example, in exams, teachers only accept answers that were given in the classroom. Therefore, it was not surprising during field research to hear a student saying, "I like to listen to the teacher talking because if you do not listen it might come in the exam and you will not get the correct answer"²⁸³. Teachers are unlikely to want to undermine this utmost belief in their knowledge and so discourage questions, thus stifling students' voices.

Moreover, teachers in IK rarely read more than the designated textbooks to enrich their knowledge, despite the fact that HRE is a new subject and teachers had limited prior knowledge of the issues involved. As noted in Chapter 4, teachers do not learn about HR in teacher training institutions. This observation was supported by the 2007-2008 survey, which showed that 24% of teachers stated that they have read no background literature on HR, and 37% stated they have read only one text (PDA 2008). This might be through lack of interest, belief or commitment as well as an overall culture that does not involve reading. This lack of background knowledge might be a further reason why teachers do not want students to ask questions as they may embarrass teachers who are unable to answer.

Similarly, there are very limited personal development programmes available for teachers to build their capacity and they do not have the personal resources to update their methods and knowledge. All the interviewed teachers complained that they do not have background information about HRE as they have not studied the subject, neither in pre-service training nor in service, despite many having taught HRE since 2007. This confirmed the researcher's observations at universities and institutes in IK. Usually teachers do not get further training during the academic year and teachers' knowledge and information is limited to what they studied at school and university.

Another issue noted during the observations was that only a few students participated in class in any way as teachers let a few students dominate the class time, effectively further silencing the majority of students. The research revealed that the reason

²⁸² Interview with a teacher focus group in a Duhok school 06/06/2013

²⁸³ Interview with a student focus group in a Duhok school 16/12/12

behind this monopoly of participation was that, as one teacher put it: "Only those students know the answers, because they study and prepare for the lessons at home. Again, there are more than 40 students in one classroom if teachers give time to each student, they will not finish the textbook".²⁸⁴

During the fieldwork, the author observed teachers informing students about what is important for the exams. One teacher explained:

"Many times teachers cannot finish the textbooks because there are many holidays and teachers are required by monitors to include questions from the whole textbook. Therefore, some texts may not be covered and delivered in lessons, so teachers tell students what is important for them to read, if not monitors will ask teachers about why the test questions are not inclusive."²⁸⁵

In this respect, both students and teachers argued that students have to write exactly what the book states to get good marks. When teachers were asked about their views of the HRE curricula, many illustrated this emphasis on rote learning by stating that, "the seventh year HRE textbook, especially, is full of explanations with no bullet points and this makes it very difficult for students to memorize all of it".²⁸⁶

However, before students were examined in HRE, many did not care about studying it. The 2007/2008 survey to evaluate HRE showed that 49% of teachers stated that student participation was low (PDA 2008); and was notably less than for HE student participation, presumably because marks are given for participation in HE.

There is limited implementation of the new methods. Teachers may find it difficult to use participatory learning methods because they have not experienced them before or been trained to use them. Therefore, despite the government recommendations, they fall back on rote learning methods and students were encouraged to be able to recite the texts by heart. Repeatedly, during the class observations students were called upon to recite the same things over and over again. Students get recall questions in exams and are assessed on how many 'facts' from the textbooks they know by heart. Hence, their grades are based on memorizing facts, not on their critical thinking.

The failure to foster critical thinking skills in students can be compounded by a more general lack of access to information. All the schools that I visited during the

²⁸⁴ Interview with a teacher in a Duhok school 11/12/2012

²⁸⁵ Interview with a teacher in a focus group Duhok school 10/12/2013

²⁸⁶ Interview with a teacher in a focus group in a Sulaimaniyah school 18/12/2012

research trip, demonstrated the lack of libraries; even if the schools had one, it was neglected. Moreover, it is very rare that teachers or students read books that are not part of the curriculum. Some teachers argued that they found it difficult to understand some concepts because of the lack of literature about HR translated into the Kurdish Badinani dialect.²⁸⁷ Meanwhile, the students felt they did not need to read any books other than textbooks.

Teachers were interviewed to explain their use of the new group methods when teaching HRE and HE. The following quote sums up the teachers' views on this:

"There are ten schools that use group systems. For example, for sports teachers it would be easy to use groups, as there are games that cannot be played by one or two students, thus teachers can encourage students to pair and share. But for us other teachers it is difficult to integrate the group system in the class."²⁸⁸

In observations, the teachers clearly had no knowledge of group work beyond the physical arrangements; many were lecturing and students were not communicating with one another. Some teachers thought that once students were in groups the participatory and modern theory of education would happen automatically. All the interviewed teachers made the argument summed up in a focus group as:

"It is sometimes impossible to use certain methods because of the class size and lack of material support. Sometimes you may need another teacher to help you organize them, especially if you want to do it outside. And sometimes one has to cover for another teacher because of absence, and not be prepared for it."²⁸⁹

Although some classrooms had arranged the desks in groups or clusters to facilitate learner-centred teaching most teaching observed in the fieldwork was "chalk and talk", "spoon feeding", question and answer and repetitious techniques for delivering lesson contents. The PDA evaluation survey of 2008-2009 showed that 77.9% of the participant teachers used questions and answers as their way of teaching (PDA 2009:7). This showed an increase from 53% in the 2007-2008 survey (PDA 2008:13).

²⁸⁷ Interview with a teacher in a focus group in a Duhok school 06/12/2012

²⁸⁸ Interview with a teacher in a Duhok school 06/12/2012

²⁸⁹ Interview with a focus group in an Erbil school 17/12/2012

Moreover, the size of the classrooms is not suitable for participatory teaching methods or work in small groups. The researcher observed that classes were generally made of six or seven groups, each group with seven or eight students. The desks could not be arranged so that the teacher could move around freely and some students had their backs to the teacher so they had to turn their heads throughout the class. If they wanted to go out they had to climb over the desks or move them all out of the way. This is likely to have contributed to the teachers' struggle to use the groups system. The PDA survey of 2008-2009 showed that only 9.7% of teachers used the group system. Moreover, there was lack of skills and knowledge about managing groups. The teachers in one focus group interview agreed that, "we avoid using the groups system because we cannot control the students, the class becomes very noisy".²⁹⁰ Thus, in the lessons observed that used a group system, the only difference was the way the desks were organized. In addition, the classes only last about half an hour, making it very difficult for teachers to organise groups. As one teachers argued, "even if the classrooms are big enough we have class time constraints, the class time is 30 minutes and we have minimum forty students in one class".²⁹¹

In the majority of the lessons observed, class time was teacher-centred. However, teachers lacked learning aids, and were busy marking books or reporting unacceptable behaviour and had limited time for learners to communicate after finishing lecturing. The PDA survey of 2007-2008 showed that 27% of teachers used lecturing methods in teaching HRE (PDA 2008:13) and, in the 2008-2009 survey, this decreased to 12.4%, which probably reflects teachers' motivation. Consequently, this means teachers had no time for interacting with students. Hence, again, the dominant classroom interaction pattern seemed to be one of passive pupils whose activities were almost entirely reproductive in nature.

The ME also urges teachers to make knowledge relevant to students, and for students to use their primary knowledge to discuss and participate in class. However, this is challenged by teachers' lack of classroom management skills and lack of belief in students' knowledge. Some defended this by saying that they "cannot control the class as there will be chaos if they let students discuss topics freely"²⁹² and "teaching is not a game, students cannot make utterances, and listening and benefiting from students is useless".²⁹³

²⁹⁰ Interview with teachers in a focus group in a Sulaimaniyah school 18/12/2012

²⁹¹ Interview with a teacher in a Duhok school 10/12/2012

²⁹² Interview with a teacher in a focus group in a Duhok school 06/06/2013

²⁹³ Interview with a teacher in a Duhok school 10/12/2012

Others were surprised at the question and one teacher argued that "teachers cannot get benefit from students - they are useless, stupid, lazy".²⁹⁴ Their arguments reflected Freire's (19970:72) description of the banking system, that the extent of action that students are allowed "extends only as far as receiving, filing, and storing the deposits".

Teachers commented on the different methods of teaching and in a focus group they explained that "there are difficulties in teaching the methods that the ME wants. The ME knows that we are not using them, we have expressed this in meetings and with monitors".²⁹⁵ Other teachers complained about the new way of teaching, one arguing in a focus group that "if we teach the new way we cannot finish the syllabus". Another teacher said, "we feel we have not taught if we have not talked during the entire lesson. Thus, giving students space to discuss their beliefs within the short time of the lessons detracts from that and the overcrowded classes are the main constraints of implementing the methods of teaching that ME wants".²⁹⁶ It seems that, with the lack of resources and capacities that teachers have, it is difficult to implement ME aims.

According to Freire (1970: 73), the banking education system does not come from a vague notion. Rather, he argues, it enables oppressors to maintain and sustain their power and that "the capability of banking education to minimize or annul the students' creative power and to stimulate their credulity serves the interests of the oppressors, who care neither to have the world revealed nor to see it transformed". Hence, Freire believes that students within such a system do not have the opportunity to question or critically evaluate the world in which they live and thus have no opportunity to change their lives for the better. This is very likely to be one of the reasons underlying the lack of progressive methods in IK schools.

In summary, it is difficult for teachers to follow the ME approach and aims, a view that was confirmed by most teachers interviewed in this research. As one teacher in a focus group stated: "In terms of ME aims and procedures, the ME is in one valley and we are in different valley, i.e. we are far away from implementing ME aims especially in terms of teaching methods".²⁹⁷ The ME's stated aim was that teachers should encourage students to use inquiry led education and motivate them to raise questions by themselves, and so

²⁹⁴ Interview with a teacher in a focus group Duhok school 10/12/2013

²⁹⁵ Interview with a teacher in a focus group in a Sulaimaniyah school 18/12/2012

²⁹⁶ Interview with a teacher in a focus group in a Duhok school 05/12/2012

²⁹⁷ Interview with a teacher in a focus group in a Duhok school 06/06/2013

become reflective and active learners. The next section presents a sample of a HRE teaching lesson that illustrates the teaching methods used.

ii. HRE Lesson Sample

This section describes some observations from one HRE class in order to give an illustration of the teaching methods used in IK schools. I have used an HRE example because it is supposed to be better taught than the other subjects as some teachers had had specific training in contrast with HE. Moreover, at this point, there were no exams for HRE so teachers did not feel pressured to complete the textbook. The teacher entered the class and the students stood up as a sign of respect and then he asked them to sit down. The boys and girls sat separately. The teacher first talked about the last lesson, recapping on the differentiation between animals and human beings; and asking who could remember what those differences were. Many students put their hands up. The teacher asked several students, all of whom stood up and told the same differences. This made the lesson repetitive rather than encouraging students' critical thinking.

Then, the teacher stated that the subject of the day was "social relationships" and asked who could tell him what a social relationship was. One student put his arm up and replied, 'our relatives' and another said 'neighbours'. All the questions in the lesson were asked by the teacher and all learners only responded to the teachers' questions; and all responded exactly the same. Thus, the teacher's actions lacked the constructive controversy that Johnson and Tjosvold (2000:65) describe as existing

“when one person's ideas, information, conclusions, theories and opinions are incompatible with those of another, and the two seek to reach agreement.

Constructive controversy involves what Aristotle called deliberative discourse (discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of proposed actions) aimed at synthesizing novel solutions (creative problem solving)”.

Teachers and students always had the same answers; they never had a different argument, or different answers to one question.

The teacher used the questioning approach to control the lesson, not to develop dialogue, interaction or sharing with and among the learners. Many teachers think that this is the method that the ME wanted, as they now ask students questions, whilst before they used to talk till the end of the class. This was in line with the survey of 2007-2008 that

showed 59% of teachers use question and answer methods and 20% rely on tests (PDA 2008). Moreover, use of these methods has increased, the survey of 2008-2009 showed that 77.9 % used question and answer, 12.4% used only lecturing and only 9.7% used grouping (PDA 2009:7).

On a positive note, the teacher cautioned learners not to laugh at the other children when they gave wrong answers, suggesting instead to "just put up your hand". However, teachers judging a student's response as right or wrong does not foster sharing or discussion by learners; instead it breeds competition among students in terms of who gives a wrong or right answer. He wanted prompt answers and did not allow time for students to think or organize their thoughts, even though some were reflective questions that required critical reasoning or even group consultation. Students were also asked to silently copy down and memorise what the teacher wrote on the blackboard; they were not asked if they understood what they were learning.

Tidwell (2004) argues that children learn very different lessons when knowledge is presented as fixed, authoritative, and unquestionable, as compared to knowledge presented as interpreted and interpretable, inquiry-based, democratic, and critical. Moreover, scholars such as Bar-Tal (2002) and Davies (2005a) assert that humour, play and creativity form important elements of any peace education program. However, there was a lack of entertainment and too much seriousness during the teaching time of this observed lesson. During the fieldwork, generally, it was rare to see a smile, a laugh or a joke told by teachers during class time. Teachers said that they approached teaching seriously because "they do not want to be laughed at by the students".²⁹⁸ During the field research, few teachers showed much care and enthusiasm for finding different methods that matched their support materials and it was encouraging and inspirational to find one teacher who stated that she was "using her tablet for illustration on subjects".²⁹⁹ These fieldwork observations were supported by the 2007-2008 PDA survey which showed that 77% of students did not have any activities in the HRE class (PDA 2008). Meanwhile, the ME overtly encourages the use of the student-centred approach and alternative teaching methods, such as group and pair work, role play, storytelling and sharing experiences, guided discussions, simulation games based on dialogue and theatre. Other methods, including drawing, consensus-building, brain-storming, use of personal resources, pictures

²⁹⁸ Interview with a teacher in a focus group Duhok school 06/06/2013

²⁹⁹ Interview with a teacher in a Sulaimaniyah school 19/12/2012

and real-life illustrations, are also important in building skills and changing attitudes and behaviour. However, as discussed in the next section, the predominant methods were far from being so constructive.

iii. Authoritarian Methods

Teachers who use rote learning and authoritarian methods often do so because of lack of teaching materials and training, or because of inappropriate training. This can reinforce social hierarchies and instil overly obedient behaviours rather than critical thinking and participatory skills (Galtung 1973). Harber (2004:24-5) argues that authoritarian methods do not produce teacher-student relationships that are based on trust and mutual respect (Harber 1996). However, the students are not aware of any alternative methods of teaching as they have experienced only one method, as have the teachers. Consequently, 84% of students said the teaching methods were very good (PDA 2008). This reflects Harber's (2002) argument that this educational process is designed to discipline bodies and regulate minds. This was supported by interviewed teachers since, as one stated, "by giving students space to talk, it will make it difficult to stop them and class will be very noisy and difficult to control, in the end this will lead to reducing our authority over students".³⁰⁰

Clearly, the effectiveness of "frown face", i.e., 'do not smile', 'do not make jokes' and 'always be serious', is a commonly held belief. Students must be scared of the teachers, and teachers have to make the class keep very quiet. The researcher observed children being shouted at and insulted at the front gate of the school when they were late or had misbehaved. During school hours the teachers feel that they always have to be in control, as teachers say, "teachers have to account for every movement they make". The occasional teacher who does sometimes smile are considered, by adults and students alike, to be losing control of the class and being exploited by students. One student expressed this when interviewed stating that, "I remember once we had a new teacher and he was so pleasant with us. We couldn't hear the teacher because of the students' noise and the teacher couldn't control the class and this affected us negatively".³⁰¹ This goes contrary to Freire's theory of building good relationships with students; instead of which the students have learnt to accept their teacher's absolute authority and control over all aspects of their learning without question. This form of education is based on duplication and

³⁰⁰ Interview with a teacher in a Duhok school 10/12/2012

³⁰¹ Interview with a student in a Duhok school 09/12/2012

memorisation of facts, described by the Arab sociologist, Sharabi (1999), as "educational terrorism". The next section looks at the specific challenges to reforms before discussing how these may be accomplished.

9.2.3 Challenges facing HR educators

These challenges include inadequacies of training, monitoring and assessment, as well as a fear of political openness and lack of local ownership of the project. Moreover, there is a heavy load on teachers, which is exacerbated by the pressure to cover the entire syllabus for examinations. As one teacher stated,

“Most of us have no break. We teach from when we enter the school until the last minute. Then we have to prepare questions for exams. We do many exams because we can evaluate the students’ level of understanding through exams. As we have many students, correcting their papers take all our efforts as well as the daily routine. We work six days and all other institutions work five days.”³⁰²

The constraints imposed by having only one 30 minute HRE class per week present another significant issue. Both teachers and students confirmed this in the interviews and said that one HRE class a week is not enough. This agrees with the 2012-2013 survey in which 46% of students wanted two classes per week, and 27% three classes; while 58% of students said it would be better to have HRE for at least three years (PDA 2013).

Too much pressure on teachers may not be beneficial; especially since the ME officials and university lecturers all blame teachers for low standards. Teachers are observed by monitors to check whether they prepared their plan notebook correctly or wrote the date on the top left or top right of the blackboard. Continual “nagging” and pressure to prepare textbook information and teaching activities in a uniform way also serve to keep the teachers themselves disciplined. As one of the teachers in a focus group argued, speaking for the whole group, "we feel like we're working in a factory line, we are working according to ME orders".³⁰³

Moreover, the fact that only HRE teachers are trained means the training is limited in its impact. It also gives the message that HRE knowledge and skills are only relevant to

³⁰² Interview with a teacher in a Duhok school 03/01/2013

³⁰³ Interview with a teacher in a Sulaimaniyah focus group 19/12/2012

HRE classes. As one teacher stated: "We are not trained how to teach new methods of teaching and our subject does not need it, I am a maths teachers".³⁰⁴ Considering that HRE teachers still do not have the skills and knowledge to use new methods, it is unlikely that teachers of other subjects are able to integrate HR into their subjects. Harris and Morrison (2003:111-3) regarded training teachers as "an essential part of PE, in order to provide teachers with knowledge and skills regarding peace, conflict, as well as an awareness of how to structure classes in ways that prepare young people to become peacemakers".

In terms of evaluation and assessment of the new methods, although the new education system was introduced in 2007, teachers often stated that it was a pilot project and the ME had no follow up and support structure to improve its quality. With the help of INGOs, the ME has done some surveys but there were no evaluation based on qualitative interviews, which would have helped the ME to better understand the shortcomings of the implementation process. Teachers argued in one focus group that "the system has been applied since 2007 and still there were no evaluations of the grouping system".³⁰⁵ Moreover, the researcher did not find the grouping system used in Erbil or Sulaimaniyah at all. Teachers in a focus group in Sulaimaniyah argued that "the ME recommended us to do it but did not force us to implement it because the ME knows we are unable to do so".³⁰⁶ Hence, again, teachers lack knowledge and skills about the modern methods of teaching because they have not been adequately trained.

Other teachers complained about the lack of professionalism in training, qualifications, organisation, and strategies. One teacher explained that they

"had training about the grouping system of teaching for a certain amount of hours, but they were short on time as most training occurred during schools hours and in different places. So after becoming tired through teaching in school, we run to another school for training. Moreover, the training is composed of lectures, they talk and we listen, and we were many teachers in a big hall".³⁰⁷

Consequently, when teachers were interviewed, they remembered very little about the training. Students in teaching institutions focus on content rather than pedagogy and

³⁰⁴ Interview with a teacher in a Duhok school 06/12/2012

³⁰⁵ Interview with a focus group in Sulaimaniyah 19/12/2012

³⁰⁶ Interview with a focus group in a Erbil school 12/12/2012

³⁰⁷ Interview with a teacher in a Duhok school 05/01/2013

only have the opportunity to practice teaching in one school for one month under the supervision of one university teacher who teaches traditional methods.

Moreover, a further challenge is teachers' reluctance to relate the subject to the society since, as Misgeld (1994: 244) suggests, HRE is "seen as introducing politics into the schools". Thus, although during the observation of schools in Sulaimaniyah, teachers of HRE explained the themes and concepts in the textbook and gave students freedom to handle it and make suggestions, they argued that this is not always possible. As one teacher stated:

"Sometimes it leads to deep discussion and students go deep into politics which we do not recommend, as this makes students go off the subject, and we lose control of the class because of disputes and arguments. And this might get us into trouble for making the subject political".³⁰⁸

The teachers in Duhok city were even more serious about not making the textbook relate to society. As one teacher stated, "if we relate the subject to the reality of society, it means we go into politics and we might get in trouble".³⁰⁹ This reflects other scholars' beliefs that politics makes educators of HRE scared of teaching human rights in schools (Magendzo1994, Reardon 1988).

Throughout the observations, it was clear that teachers do not feel responsible because they do not see themselves as part of the program and lack a sense of ownership. As one teacher argued, "everything is imposed on us so we do not feel part of the process".³¹⁰ This is in line with Fisher et al. (2000:43) who argue that such programs will be more successful "when contents and methods are developed locally, in response to commonly identified problems". Many interviewee teachers kept saying, 'it is a Swedish system and cannot be applied here' and 'it will fail', and that they had no confidence in its progress and felt marginalised and angry. However, if teachers were more involved in the process, they would feel a sense of ownership and do their utmost to make the program successful.

The lack of documentation of learners' development, attitudes and behaviour creates another challenge. Remedying this would be useful for evaluation and would

³⁰⁸ Interview with a teacher in a Sulaimaniyah school 18/12/2012

³⁰⁹ Interview with a teacher in a Duhok school 06/12/2012

³¹⁰ Interview with a teacher in a focus group in a Duhok school 11/12/2012

provide evidence and support for the program if there is progress in terms of changing students' behaviour. Nevertheless, even at the end of the year, teachers do not provide descriptive records of any changes in learners' behaviour and attitude, or any other feedback except students' grades and attendance records. Buckland (2006) observes that the lack of records of learners' progress in development of peace skills, knowledge, and behaviour is a common phenomenon in post-conflict societies.

Teachers do not provide such feedback because they believe that the marks are the best reflection and indicator of students' ability, a view that was supported by teachers in focus groups. As one teacher stated: "their marks tell everything".³¹¹ To teachers, the students who get good marks are not violent, nor troublemakers because marks are given to students based on their behaviour too. However, this is not indicated in the final grades and students and parents do not get any feedback concerning conduct and behaviour. Students are accustomed to the competitive atmosphere, as one teacher explained:

"When we make student groups and distribute clever students equally among groups, they complain and do not like it. They said groups are not fair because all children are equal and teachers cannot distinguish between good students and bad students."³¹²

Both teachers and students indicated that the pressure of examination builds competitiveness among students and promotes fear and low self-esteem within individuals. According to Davies (2004), exam-orientation is a characteristic of "war education" and parents are very much exam-oriented and just want their children to pass the exams. Salmi (2000:16) calls this aspect of education "alienating violence".

The Violent Environment

"There will be no peace in the world until teachers can create peaceful classrooms." (Leaders of Peace Education 1990)

One pervasive issue that presents a major challenge to any reforms is violence in schools. The ME emphasises the importance of making schools safer and so banned corporal punishment in 2000. However, schools in IK still lack mechanisms for ending violence, as

³¹¹ Interview with a teacher in a focus group in a Duhok school 11/12/2012

³¹² Interview with a teacher in a Duhok school 11/12/2012

indicated by most teachers interviewed who did not believe in peaceful ways of learning. As noted above, the students' role models are those who have authority over them and who they are expected to obey, respect and imitate (Harber 2004:42-43, Davies 2004:111-14). Thus, when teachers threaten and intimidate students in order to impose discipline this becomes a role model for violent approaches to conflict. Therefore, constructive teacher behaviour is important in creating a positive atmosphere in schools. This is especially important in IK where teachers are considered as a fountainhead of wisdom and knowledge. As it is, the authoritarian role of schools reproduces and perpetuates violence; and the violent behaviour of students originates in the socialisation of children in schools and the broader social context.

Violence is a part of the life of IK children, in school and in society and different studies. Previous research in IK indicates a high degree of domestic violence in the area (Kareem 2008). There is also pervasive cultural belief that children are born "*tabula rasa*" (Moore and Peters 1986: 31),³¹³ that is, with a cognitively empty mind, and therefore, have to be controlled and beaten to make them behave. They are considered to be inferior and know nothing, and to need to have everything decided for them. As one teacher argued, "students do not know what is good and bad for them, and they do not listen and obey until they are threatened".³¹⁴ Moreover, they are not allowed to talk and share their opinion in conversations where adults and elders are present.

In wider society, everyday talk is about politics and violent stories about situations. Media coverage is dominated by violence, killings, kidnappings, and bombing. As one teacher stated,

"even if the teachers don't use violence at school, children stay in schools for three, four hours and then they go home and they find a contradiction between home and schools. At home, children get beaten, humiliated whilst at school they get respected and this is a contradiction. They listen to their parents more than to us - so when the

³¹³ This reflects John Locke's assumption concerning children. For Locke, there was total freedom when it came to drawing out a human being from the biological potentials of the body, since children were cognitively empty. He felt that educating a child was similar to writing on an empty blackboard. In this context, there are assumptions by other commentators, such as Calvin, who argued that there is original evil in human beings that must be driven out before the process of drawing out a new person could begin. On the other hand, for Rousseau, children had innate goodness that could be drawn out through teaching and learning. For further reading, see Moore and Peters (1982).

³¹⁴ Interview with a teacher in a focus group in a Duhok school 09/12/2012

children come to school, they are as if you had taken them out of prison: because they are free, they make trouble."³¹⁵

Thus, the strong belief in the efficacy of violent methods to discipline children has made teachers continue to use violence and dehumanize children rather than looking for alternatives in accordance with the law banning corporal punishment. As one teacher stated, "I noticed that children want to buy toys that are weapons; in general people are more interested with war than peace. There are a lot of problems and the wrong understanding of principles: brave persons are the fighters who never give up and never concede goals".³¹⁶ It is clear that the change in the law is only a first step and the challenge to change attitudes and culture remains. Furthermore, parents' encouragement and support of teachers using violence against students makes the situation even more complicated. The teacher is left in a dilemma between societal norms and the laws and ME regulations against corporal punishment. On one occasion, a woman came and asked a teacher about her daughter's scientific level in the presence of the researcher. The teacher told the woman that her daughter had failed his course. In response, the woman asked the teacher to discipline her and force her to study by beating her. The teacher said that he could not do so and she should tell the girl's father to beat her and the woman replied that her husband was peshmergah and so was not home. It is also believed that the children of peshmergah have a particular inclination toward violence and troublemaking.

The structure of IK society is rigid, oppressive and it is difficult to find alternatives to violence. The only alternative that the teachers were happy about in the new system was gaining more power to use marks to encourage students to study, and to control students' behaviour. One teacher argued that:

"We admit that there are some good points in the new education system, it gives teachers power to threaten students to study and to behave well as an alternative to using violence. They can have 15 mark in each semester if they behave well, which can be decisive in the future of student."³¹⁷

³¹⁵ Interview with a teacher in a Sulaimaniyah school 18/12/2012

³¹⁶ Interview with teachers in a focus group in a Duhok school 09/12/2012

³¹⁷ Interview with teachers in a focus group in an Erbil school 17/12/2012

Consequently, the education system continues to encourage the use of threats as a means to change students' behaviour. Using methods other than violence makes the teachers feel that they have lost authority over students and, because they lack the capacities and skills to deal with students without violence, they believe that they cannot teach well without it. This has led many teachers to regret the new system and feel that it neglects students and implies that teachers should let students do whatever they want to do. As one teacher angrily said, "Why should we teachers bother if the ME does not care about students? This is even easier for teachers, we do not care too, just give the lesson and leave - and pass the students. That's what the ME wants from us."³¹⁸

Clearly, a large part of the problem is that teachers lack the knowledge and skills to provide alternatives to the culture of violence and there is a need for personal development and strategies for constructive solutions as teachers currently do not have any language other than violence or its threat. On many occasions, teachers asked the researcher for a solution, questioning along the lines of: "If you were in our position what would you do other than that, students with the new education system become much noisier and fight more because they are not scared and do not listen to us. You tell me what the solution is".

In terms of specific strategies, when there is a fight between students in school, the teacher treats the victim and perpetrator equally. One teacher stated, "they must both be punished by the teacher to be an example for other students not to fight".³¹⁹ Teachers think that shouting and humiliating students is the best way to reduce violence in schools. As another teacher stressed, "nice talk with our students is ineffective".³²⁰ Moreover, schools do not have peaceful policies for dealing with bullies and bullied students and do not record incidents of violence or bullying. One reason given for this was that "teachers might get a lot of incidents, reporting each case is an extra burden for teachers". The same interviewee also stated that they did not need peaceful strategies in dealing with violent students because "students obey us and listen to us when we use violent methods, when they are scared of teachers".³²¹ All the interviewed teachers agreed that they "do not keep records because it is not worth writing it down because it is resolved immediately".³²² When asked what they did if the incident is repeated by the same students, one interviewee explained, "We still don't record the incident and we solve it immediately or their parents

³¹⁸ Interview with a teacher in a Duhok school 09/12/2012

³¹⁹ Interview with a teacher in a Duhok school 10/06/2013

³²⁰ Interview with a teacher in a Duhok school 06/12/2012

³²¹ Interview with a teacher in a Duhok school 05/01/2013

³²² Interview with a teacher in a focus group in a Duhok school 09/12/2012

are called".³²³ Žižek (2008:9) refers to this type of violence as "systemic violence"; that is violence inherent in the system and manifested through "more subtle forms of coercion that sustain relations of domination and exploitation, including the threat of violence". On the other hand, teachers talked confidently about how ineffective peaceful methods are with students, as one stated in a focus group, "students do not listen to us; they have to be threatened and scared to listen and obey".³²⁴ However, for peace-oriented methods of teaching to be effective, students have to feel safe in school.

During the field visit, the researcher met students who were bullied by teachers and students. Students were clearly not comfortable in class and the researcher found that they were hesitant and unconfident when talking to teachers. Psychological violence was a concern of many students that the researcher talked to and interviewed, and many complained about being called offensive names and shouted at. In one focus group, the students agreed that "it hurts more than beating ... we students cannot complain about it because the education officials and our parents consider it normal and even recommended".³²⁵ As one monitor said, "it is unfortunate that many teachers disrespect students by calling them abusive names ... This is because teachers do not study how to deal with children especially the violent students".³²⁶ In the class observations, teachers were always making comments such as 'feel shame', 'you know nothing', 'you are lazy', and 'you behave like animals'. Žižek (2008:9) refers to this kind of violence that is embedded in the form of language used as "objective violence".

A peaceful environment in school is essential for positive development and, as Freire (1998b:91) argues, "democracy is taught and learned through the practice of democracy". Moreover, he asserts that relations between students and teachers have to be based on dialogue, respect and love; and that dialogue cannot be found in the absence of love: "If I do not love the world—if I do not love life—if I do not love them, I cannot enter into dialogue". This clearly was not the case in IK schools the researcher visited where the overall atmosphere felt too unsafe for students to feel comfortable.

Thus, although some teachers claimed they use student-centred methods, the dominant model in most of the lessons observed reflected issues involving the imposition of meanings, rigid categories of perception and dominated social agents. The classroom

³²³ Interview with a teacher in a focus group in a Duhok school 09/12/2012

³²⁴ Interview with a teacher in a focus group in a Duhok school 11/12/2012

³²⁵ Interview with a student focus group in Duhok school 10/12/2013

³²⁶ Interview with a monitor focus group in Duhok 11/12/2012

discussions observed emphasized the hierarchies and power differentials between teachers and learners to the extent that teachers were almost always the ones talking. Thus, the methods used to disseminate dominant knowledge reflect features of symbolic violence inherent in the established pedagogy. This highlights the need to find more effective and far-reaching approaches and the next section explores some possibilities.

9.3 Explanation of the Findings

The power relations that the above discourses reflect are, at the institutional level, reproduced through the ME's lack of clear guidance, commitment and teacher training; at the situational level, as most of the teachers are from the dominant group (Muslims), they have little motivation to challenge the dominant knowledge, especially cultural norms linked to religions; and at a societal level the power relations were clearly in tandem with IK cultural practices of unquestioning conformity and compliance with accepted norms and social practices. Consequently, this reproduces a culture of conformity to established norms and accepted practices. Hence, there is one form of interaction: teachers talk and question the students, while the students listen and keep silent, neither questioning the information nor discussing issues among themselves. Thus, both teachers and students collude in preserving the status quo, neither fostering critical thinking nor empowering students with societal skills that might alter the power relations - teachers because they fear losing authority over the students and students because they fear that authority and have no access to alternative discourses. Thus, the power relations at institutional, situational and societal level contribute to shaping and reinforcing the dominant discourse, and the overall process of learning consolidates this.

The way the curricular knowledge was transmitted involved submission, compliance and aggression, especially so in HE and HRE, as these subjects were sensitive to students, teachers and ME. Thus, challenging this knowledge or suggesting different interpretations is liable to give rise to tension and offense. This makes it especially difficult for teachers to encourage debate and different interpretations, however it is in these subjects that debate is most important, particularly in relation to ethnic issues. This knowledge has been imposed on other ethnic and religious groups (non-Muslims) throughout history; hence, the lack of representation of these groups has become their common sense with no awareness of alternatives. Thus, when teachers argued that some

Yezidis students wanted to be called Muslims and/or wanted to attend Islamic studies subjects, they do not understand that this is because they see Islam as more valid than their own religion. Moreover, students of other religion may have felt they would be treated better if they attend Islamic studies class. However, both HRE and HE should encourage questioning this.

It is not in the interests of either the ME or teachers to make learning experiential or to encourage debate about the curriculum contents since fostering critical thinking within students would help them to develop agency and through this to challenge the status quo. This would change the entrenched power relations and lead to criticism of authority and possibly change the societal practices. As it is, teachers believe in violent methods of discipline and this dominates their interactions with students so; even though corporal punishment is banned they still use psychological violence to preserve their status.

Changing attitudes, behaviour and developing critical thinking skills cannot be imposed on students. It has to come through a process of socialisation, through students discussing among themselves and through their way of interacting with teachers and teachers with each other. Teachers need to internalise the values of tolerance, equality, freedom of expression, children rights to be free from violence before they can transmit them to students. The next section explores the possibilities of developing transformative teaching methods.

9.4 Towards a Pedagogy of Change: A Student-Centred Approach

Learner-centred pedagogy involves a shift of focus whereby students become active participants in their learning processes. Scholars emphasise the importance of this especially for post-conflict contexts because it can help students process their negative experiences during the war more efficiently than with teacher-dominated / top-down approaches (Kugawa, 2005). Harris (1990:255) provides useful guidelines for peace-seeking classrooms: “respectful dialogue among teachers and learners; cooperation among learners; problem solving approaches to learning; affirmation of the worth of each learner; and democratic boundary setting of classroom expectations”.

Although the ME recommends teachers use learner-centred methods that reflect these guidelines, and many teachers stated that they did so, they face a dilemma in doing so. As one teacher reflected, "Even teachers who had been trained to use child-centred

approaches usually reverted to teacher-centred approaches because they felt pressurized to cover the curriculum in preparation for examinations".³²⁷ Thus, as discussed above, the fieldwork indicated that actual methods used remained dominated by teacher initiated activities.

Nevertheless, the student-centred approach can work if context is taken into account and all involved are properly trained, including head teachers and teachers of all subjects. As Nicolai (2003) points out, head teachers could help the process if they received training in supporting other teachers, but this was not in the ME plans.

The rest of this section discusses approaches that are basic to transforming educational methods.

9.4.1 Teaching Learning Activities

Chinese

proverb

There are many possibilities for more open and empowering methods of teaching. UNESCO encourages the use of modern media programmes such as inputs through audio and video programmes and interactive CDs, as well as self-learning and a whole range of cooperative ventures involving learning in groups, including case studies, simulations, problem solving, research and exploration (Mukhopadhyay, 2005:33-48). Scholars emphasise the importance of experience as a resource for learning through the use of experiential methods such as: role-play, games, storytelling, excursions and providing opportunities for learners to learn about negotiation, co-operation and teamwork (Lopes Cardozo 2008; Bretheron et al. 2003; Bar-Tal 2002). These enable students to develop qualities of creativity and cooperation (Lopes Cardozo 2008; Balasooriya, 2007: Bar-Tal 2002; Bretheron et al. 2003).

The new methods recommended by the ME encourage teachers to use activities to support children's understanding and make learning more interesting and pleasurable. For example, the introductions for several textbooks mention that learning in school has to be more practical and less theoretical. However, teachers said the bureaucracy involved is prohibitive. As one teacher argued,

³²⁷ Interview with a teacher in a focus group in a Duhok school 06/01/2013

"to take the children outside the class the new teaching system requires us to get permission of head teacher. The head teacher has to send a request to the directorate of ME and wait for approval. Then permission and consent of the students' parents is needed. And the students will be the responsibility of the teachers, and the class has an average of 40 students."³²⁸

Another said, "with all this hassle, why bother and take on such responsibilities because one teacher cannot control all of the students outside."³²⁹

However, experiential learning is basic to a peace pedagogy and through it students can learn to be more conscious of societal problems and how to solve them, and so feel more motivated to work for society and create peace. Skills and behaviours that can only be learnt through experiences are very important to the IK community because they can link education to the wider society. These need few support facilities and learning about the benefit of doing voluntary community work will make students aware and engaged with the community. Nonetheless, the ME does encourage teachers to use activities and make lessons more practical. As one ME official argued,

"through the new learning activities the ME wants to establish good relationship and communication skills between students themselves and between teachers and students, build self-confidence and self-esteem within students, and the ability to express themselves accurately in conversation without fear of teachers".³³⁰

However, currently, the only learning activities outside school that students have are sports activities and once a year all schools go for a picnic.

9.4.2 The Dialogical Approach

Dialogue is an important process whereby problems are identified (*diagnosis*), analysed (*prognosis*) and solutions proposed (*therapy*). It gives individuals the opportunity to share their experiences in a supportive and constructive environment and to identify what is oppressive and how to end that oppression. Freire (1970: 89-91) associates working

³²⁸ Interview with a teacher in a focus group in a Duhok school 06/01/2012

³²⁹ Interview with a teacher in a Duhok school 06/01/2012

³³⁰ Interview with ME official 07/01/2013

dialogue with some specific traits: “profound love for the world and for people, humility, hope, and mutual trust”. Removing the authoritative distance between students and teachers could be added to this list to make dialogue possible in the IK context because effective HRE requires horizontal relationships to be effective (Freire 1993; Meintjes 1997).

The ME explicitly aims to foster dialogue based on good relationships between teachers and students.³³¹ However, teachers in IK need training on how to deal with and treat students to change the asymmetric relations between teachers and students since dialogical approaches both require and foster equality between participants. Thus, since the present ethos is so oppressively teacher-centred, students need to be encouraged to communicate freely and discuss issues with teachers; and so to think critically and reflect upon the ongoing structural violence that they experience in schools and society. Only through this will they be able to develop peace-orientated attitudes and behaviour.

Consequently, it is essential that teachers are friendly in their relationships with students because peace education as a philosophy teaches students nonviolence, compassion, love, cooperation and respect for all humanity on the planet (Harris 2004). Other scholars also emphasise the importance of a pedagogy powered by love (Freire 1998, cited in McLaren, 2007: 304). Thus, teachers have to love their work to get improvement in students. Although this is still deficient, the 2008-2009 PDA survey showed a positive outcome since the majority of HRE teachers desire to teach this subject and 97.7% teachers had chosen to teach the HRE textbook (PDA 2009:6).

Respect is another important theme that builds dialogue, trust and friendship. Crawford (2005) argues that teachers who show respect and empathy to their students open a line of communication and so reduce misunderstandings, foster comfort, confidence, and conflicts within this relationship. In the same way, Bretheron et al. (2003: 222) argue that the teacher’s “relationship with students is a powerful aspect of the learning processes”. Thus, respect also needs to be encouraged, as students do not get respect from teachers (Afaq Tarbawia 2004:38).

Furthermore, many scholars argue for a pedagogy of cooperation in the classroom (Crawford 2005). Johnson and Johnson (2005:285) call this process “cooperative learning, small groups of students working together on a project”. Different studies (Harris and Morrison, 2003, Johnson and Johnson, 2005, 2006) have demonstrated that cooperative

³³¹ Interview with ME official 05/06/2013

learning environments provide higher achievement levels, promote self-esteem within students, build positive peer relationships and provide peer support among students compared to competitive learning environments. However, cooperative learning is absent in IK schools, instead the process is based on competitiveness, as discussed above, which reinforces a culture of fear and mistrust. Hence, promoting dialogue requires promoting cooperation as well.

9.4.3 Dialogue and Critical Thinking

Freire relates dialogue to critical thinking and argues that the two work better together. In this respect, he states that “only dialogue, which requires critical thinking, is also capable of generating critical thinking” (Freire 1970:92). He further argues that dialogue alone will not help students become “more fully human” and can only be fruitful if it is coupled with critical thinking. And, in turn, critical thinking lends itself to transformation. Thus, in the context of this thesis, critical thinking involves the process of identifying what is oppressive. However, even if the contents do relate to society, whilst teachers avoid this aspect, education will not be fruitful in terms of peacefully transforming society. As one teacher stated, “teachers purposefully neglect to discuss the actual situation in the area”.³³² Thus, it is important that teachers support this for both students and teachers to recognise what is oppressive, and how people are oppressed.

Critical thinking also involves taking action to resist what is perceived to be oppressive since awareness without action can be worse than useless because knowing about human rights violations and doing nothing might incur more oppressive consequences than ignorance. This is especially important in IK since, as one teacher of HRE stated, “there are HR violations everywhere in IK but what's the benefit of talking without acting and all people are aware of these violations but they do nothing because we are all corrupt”.³³³ In addition, whilst HR educators may aim to change social and cultural norms, in doing so they may create great resistance from friends, parents and students since HRE contradicts the majority of people's beliefs in IK, making dialogue even more important (Lyseight-Jones 1991).

Once students become critical thinkers they can begin a process that could lead to what Freire terms “becoming fully human”. Freire (1970:51) refers to this as *praxis* and

³³² Interview with a teacher in a Duhok school 26/12/2012

³³³ Interview with a teacher in a Sulaimaniyah school 18/12/2013

defines it as “reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it”. The constant reflection and evaluation involved can enable students to think about what oppresses them and, hopefully, resolve it through dialogue. Freire (1970:87) argues that reflection without action is only “verbalism” and action without reflection is only “activism”, and one without the other will not change reality. Thus, bringing real issues of HR violation into classes can change students’ attitudes and strengthen their commitment for change by building students’ knowledge, skills and awareness of the importance of changing the status quo. Moreover, school is a convenient place for students to mobilize, work together and share ideas. As Carter and Osler (2000: 338) argue, “[a]lthough any new understanding (of human rights) will not be achieved through formal education alone, the role of schools in either reinforcing or challenging inequality and injustice should not be underestimated”. For this to be possible, it is essential that the role of teachers in PE is fully understood and used constructively, as discussed in the next section.

9.5 The Role of Capable Teachers

Scholars emphasise the role of capable teachers as central to delivering peace knowledge, and enhancing students’ peace skills and behaviour. Bar-Tal (2002:33) argues that “the success of peace education is more dependent on the views, motivations, and abilities of teachers than traditional subjects are”. Teachers are considered as the key agents of change (Giroux 2009; Cochran-Smith 2004; Howard 2003; Grant and Agosto 2008; Enns and Sinacore 2005). Galtung warns that a teacher who tries to convey peace culture without including practice (i.e., peace action), is like “a moral rascal teaching ethics” (1996:78). Teachers with peace-related capabilities are very important especially in a Kurdish context because all aspects of teachers’ lives are observed by students. Almost everybody in the surrounding area knows who the teacher is; something that teachers are usually proud of. This makes teachers behave morally and well and, conversely, students feel ashamed not to behave well if there is a teacher living in their area. Moreover, school teachers are considered as second parents who also teach morals.

Democratic teachers can help all students to critically engage in classroom dialogue (Freire 1970; Giroux 1992; Howard 2003; Shor 1993; Lopes Cardozo 2008; Bretheron et al. 2003). Therefore, teachers need to be informed and motivated to discuss political, economic and social issues in a sensitive manner; contrary to the traditional methods that leave students excluded and ignorant about their social context (Giroux 2009; Bretheron et

al. 2003). Giroux (2009:37) re-emphasises that the teachers' role is that of "transformative intellectuals who speak out against social injustice and how to create conditions where students can develop the language and values of a democratic and social just society". For example, HRE educators can use TV news and newspapers articles relating to HR and encourage students to talk, discuss and express their opinions about these. This can broaden awareness beyond academic life and does not need supporting material.

However, if teachers related the subject to society and to students' different contemporary cultures, the knowledge might be new to the teachers – and teachers might learn from learners as well as vice versa. It is crucial for teachers to make the class open for all thoughts and comments, and accept all ideas with respect, in accordance with the ME's stated aims. Consequently, teachers need to be trained to be curious and to encourage curiosity among students and so be able to impart the joy of learning and discovery. Curiosity naturally leads teachers and students to research subjects. Thus, it needs to be instilled in teachers and students that when students ask questions and teachers do not know an answer both teacher and student should be curious to find the answer(s). Moreover, the learning does not stop there; it can lead to more questions that can be asked in further classes. In this way the teacher becomes the learner and learners become teachers. As Freire (1998:31) claims, those who recognize the development of education itself will easily understand and accept the concept of teacher as a learner.

However, teachers' preferred strategies not only depend on their own motivations but also on the structures through which schools are managed. Scholars argue that school structures either facilitate or undermine teachers' efforts to be catalysts of change (Vongalis-Macrow 2007; Lopes Cardozo 2009; Giroux 2009). All the processes of education - contents, teaching methods, teachers' motivation, autonomy and progress - are related to one another. And the teachers' status, progress, motivation and commitment are all dynamic aspects of their role. This means that, no matter how good the content is, only by providing teachers with detailed advice on how to teach in plain and practical language can PE become effective.

9.6 Conclusion

There is notable mismatch and misunderstanding between teachers' practices and the ME aims; partly because the ME has unrealistic expectations that are impossible to fulfil. The aims include shifting away from a directive style, but the field observations indicated that

teaching methods used for HRE and HE remained authoritarian. However, the ME, teachers and students all seemed happy about this and there was no real effort to complain about the teaching methods by any of the participants in the process of education. Teachers believed that traditional methodology best fitted their context and that there was no better option. Thus, school policies and structures, as well as the techniques that were used to communicate knowledge, reflected the use of symbolic violence with much less use of peace-oriented methods. Nonetheless, some teachers argued that they used learner-centred methods in their classes by putting students into groups and using question and answer techniques.

Many challenges obstruct teachers' improvement, such as lack of support, facilities, and a well written policy and instructions for teachers. Indeed, currently, schools' policies and structures restrict teachers' autonomy to improve. Other challenges also face students, such as the atmosphere of fear, the physical dilapidation of schools, and the need to create and replenish libraries. Moreover, neither teachers nor pupils are aware of what the new methods and their benefits involve and in many ways the ME has only paid lip service to their importance.

The classroom discussions observed emphasized the hierarchies and power differentials between teachers and students; for example, teachers were always leading the conversation and asking questions that needed short and precise answers, instead of posing open-ended questions. Even when students asked questions, they only did so if they wanted the teacher to clarify a point. In this context, symbolic violence involves imposing meanings as legitimate by concealing the power relations supporting it. Thus, it adds symbolic force to those power relations (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977).

Here, symbolic violence refers to the power to maintain the dominant knowledge and power relations through manipulation of symbols, and is fundamentally the imposition of categories of perception and thought upon dominated social agents, namely the students. Symbolic violence is, in some senses, much more powerful than physical violence in that it is embedded in the very modes of action and structures of cognition of individuals. Thus, it imposes the vision of the legitimacy of the social order to the extent that even corporal punishment is viewed as an attribute of teacher legitimacy (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990:16).

Things are changing gradually; teachers are motivated to teach HRE (PDA 2009) and students interested in having more classes (PDA 2013). Moreover, teacher/student relationships are becoming less vertical as teachers are banned from using corporal

punishment and students are becoming more aware of their rights to be safe in schools. Interviewed teachers claimed that students were more resistant to teachers using violence and interviewed students expressed their concern and anger about abuse of students. Thus, with their slowly increasing knowledge of HR and the laws protecting them, students are becoming more confident about changing their situation.

Chapter Ten: Conclusion

T
h
i
s
..

Kofi Annan, Human Rights Day message, 2000.

10.0 Introduction

This study analysed the contents, process and policy of the ME in implementing the new curricula for HRE and HE following the regime change in 2007. The overall aim was to analyse the contents and explore the differences and similarities of peace and war values in the HRE and HE curricula; and how these were delivered in practice. The work reviewed the changing political system in relation to how it affected the education system in IK and identified the significant challenges faced by the authorities in developing the education system due to political, economic and institutional capacity constraints after the decentralisation of education. The research found that the ME adopted the additive approach to peace education; that is, adding HRE into the school curriculum rather than integrating it into HE (or other subjects). However, while recognising the overall importance of implementing PE through an integrative approach, the study concludes that the additive approach is very important as a first step in the process.

The literature review chapter presented the key debates and discussions relating to peace education. It revealed that within PE, there are different definitions, programmes, and targeted age groups. Moreover, the variety of contents of PEPs presented specific challenges and advantages. The literature showed that PE is a multidisciplinary, dynamic and evolving form of study; consequently, for novice peace educators, such as those in IK, it is especially challenging to rely on and adopt a single definition of the subject. Ben-Porath (2006:74) relates the reasons for ineffectiveness of PE to its definition either being too broadly defined or too narrowly defined. However, since peace and conflict concepts mean different things to different people, this lack of definition can also constitute an advantage as it gives educators the freedom to choose what is most relevant and so make it more contextualised to the immediate societal context. Meanwhile, states are not obliged by international law to convey peace values and knowledge in the education system

through PEPs which are becoming increasingly necessary as societies are becoming more interdependent and affected by violence.

The notable lack of PEPs in Muslim majority Arab states was also discussed in relation to PE literature. This lack might have been due to politicisation of PE and related skills and knowledge that challenge the status quo of oppression, injustice and marginalisation. Consequently, the international community finds it especially difficult to implement PE in these countries. Most Muslim majority states, including non-Arab Muslim states such as Iran, perceive the PE approach as a threat to Islamic culture and to the region in general. Thus, while religion in the Middle East can be an obstacle to promoting PE despite the possibility of teaching Islamic peace values, Western involvement can be seriously challenged when perceived as a threat to Islam or a conspiracy to control the area. There are further challenges inherent in Western agencies' lack of acceptance of local/grassroots involvement in PEPs. In IK, to avoid any negative preconceptions, associations and antagonising stereotypes, the study suggests that the name of HRE should be changed to something more acceptable to the local context, such as 'moral education' or 'skills for life'.

This research used a qualitative approach and the author conducted 59 semi-structured interviews and observations with teachers, curriculum developers, monitors, students and parents, both individually and in focus groups. The focus was on the three major cities' schools in Duhok, Erbil and Sulaimaniyah but included some village schools to enable a more comprehensive view. The researcher made three field visits in December/January 2012, April/May 2013, and August 2014.

The review of the political and educational background indicated how the Iraqi education system was politicised and used for indoctrination by the state throughout history. When Iraq was part of the Ottoman Empire (1831–1920) the education system was based on the single approach of Islamic studies and students were taught in mosques. Following this, the British mandate (1920-1932) did not invest in improving the education system and they were careful not to introduce an education system that might clash with the Iraqi Arab and Islamic culture. The Royal Hashemite (1932-1958) put less emphasis on the education system due to local resistance. When Iraq became fully independent in 1958, education was improved in terms of the building more schools and training more teachers. Consequently, during the period of 1960-1970 the education system was at its peak and among the best in the Middle East; the state invested more in the education system, teachers from neighbouring countries came to teach in Iraq and Iraqi students were sent

abroad for further training. However, the constant changes of government and power, particularly in 1963, 1966, 1968, and 1979, prevented the continuity of such improvement. Throughout the history of Iraq and IK there has been continual divisions and rivalry between Shiia and Sunni causing the ‘ethnicizing’ of the education system: when Sunni held power, the curricula contents promoted Sunni knowledge and vice versa. Then, during Saddam’s regime (1979-2003) the education system declined and education become more concerned with teaching war values and brainwashing to serve the interests of government and those in power. In respect to the education that followed, Al-Kubaisi (2012:62-63) argues that “the mental and psychological violence is presented in the university curricula ... the textbooks contents are old fashioned and oriented by religious, sectarian and sub-sectarian biases. And the influence that religion plays in limiting, demanding consistency of thought and expression to the same degree as the previous Baath government did”.

In 1991, IK gained semi-autonomy. However, the political and economic constraints hindered the development and improvement of the education system. In 2003, the post-Ba’ath regime in Iraq gave both Iraq and IK the opportunities to rebuild their education systems and purify them of war values. However, IK had more opportunities as it was relatively safe for INGOs and other countries to work there.

In terms of the objectives set out in Chapter 3, the thesis has thoroughly analysed both the implicit and explicit values that underlie the content and values it promotes and how the different religions and ethnic groups are represented in this process. To do this, the study used CDA to explore how socially-shared knowledge and ideology, manipulated through reproduction in the textbook contents - not only as representations but also as interactions (Van Leeuwen 2008) - become naturalised and internalised through the power of choice. The choices consist of whether to pick up and manipulate one narrative rather than another, how to choose an overall picture to impart that reality (such as socialisation and equality of women) and how to decide whose interests are served and for what purpose. From this perspective, language is not neutral, and “all texts are critical sites for the negotiation of power and ideology” (Burns and Coffin 2001). The control of knowledge not only shapes individuals’ interpretations of the world, it also structures the types of discourse and actions individuals may engage in (Van Dijk 1993:258). As Fiske states, “[k]nowledge is power, and the circulation of knowledge is part of the social distribution of power” (Fiske 2005:140). Hegemony is sustained precisely because such cultural and social practices appear to be so ‘natural’ and unquestionable to those experiencing them (Whitty 1981:57).

Scholars, such as Fairclough (1982), Van Leeuwen (2008) and Foucault (1977), emphasise the importance of discourse analysis in understanding the relation and exercise of power. Thus, in this study, the HE and HRE contents are analysed in relation to primary discourses, social practices and the social structure of society. This demonstrated that, in the former, the contents aim to reproduce negative and violent social practices and discourse whilst in the latter they aim to transform these into more peaceful ones. In relation to this, Fairclough (1995:219) argues that ‘it is mainly in discourse that consent is achieved, ideologies are transmitted, and practices, meanings, values and identities are taught and learnt’. Thus, the thesis used peace education theory and CDA to illuminate the power relations in IK education. The combination of PE and CDA enable analysis and evaluation of the structural, cultural and direct violence as it is revealed within the curriculum and its implementation; as well as to suggest alternative ways to address violence. This reflects Reardon’s (1999:6) conceptualisation of peace education as incorporating “knowledge, skills and attitudes to overcome problems and achieve possibilities”.

Throughout this study, my insider and outsider position helped me in gathering more in depth data and approaching the analysis with greater understanding. In particular, studying peace education at MPhil and PhD level in Europe provided me with an essential conceptual framework, as well as experiencing education in Europe in general because peace education is all about politics and applying a critical understanding to enable changes to the status quo. While my insider status meant that I was very aware that education in IK needs to be changed so as to encourage harmony within my society, my European studies taught me how to make changes. This also helped me as teacher as, previously, although I wanted to contribute to making positive changes, through studying peace education and being in Europe I realise I was still contributing to sustaining the banking education system.

I took many precautions to minimise being biased before choosing my subject because I knew that taking a critical stand and being objective in a society like Kurdistan is difficult. Therefore I have chosen to write about the education because in IK writing about education is not considered politics. After choosing this topic, I wrote my objectives, hypothesis and assumptions before exploring the subject. During my study, I used consistent personal reflection: before and after every interview I wrote my assumptions and reflections about the outcomes, respectively; after finishing all the interviews I wrote my reflections; and when analysing the data I cross-checked my prior reflections for each

and every interviews. I also used other tools to minimise bias, such as observation, field notes, a log of day-to-day activities, personal reflections, and group and individual interviews with representatives of all stakeholders in the education system in IK. I ensured my sample was balanced according to gender and ethnicity to make sure all groups were included. I clearly presented my aims and objectives to all participants to remove suspicions through my having the backing of the ME because the ME is considered a legitimate institution by all teachers, parents, students and other education stakeholders.

Teachers of HE from the dominant groups were happy to talk with me without any concern as I was considered an insider. On the other hand, other interviewees from other ethnic groups, such as Yezidis and Christians were happy to talk with me because they considered me an outsider as I was studying in Europe, and Europe feels more sympathetic toward them. Moreover, they told me I was the first person to conduct interviews with them and they felt that I was giving them interest and respect.

In HRE, interviewees from the dominant groups had some concern about my outsider and insider stand because they felt I was studying abroad and writing about peace education and then coming to Kurdistan to impose Western culture and undermine Kurdish culture. However, because I clearly presented my aims and objectives under the auspices of the ME and they knew about my subject through the ME before even meeting me, this quelled their suspicion. On the other hand, the members of the other ethnic groups welcomed me and were happy to talk to me.

Finally, I am aware that since I experienced all my education up to university level and teaching in IK, this may make my perspective more subjective. But studying PE in Europe made me aware of – and gave me experience of - different methods of teaching, which I feel concerned to transmit to Kurdish society. In particular using different methods of obtaining data (observation, groups interviews, gender/ethnically-balanced interviews, ME officials, monitors, consistent personal reflections, log of day-to-day activities, consistent weekly reporting and regularly meeting with my supervisor) helped me in obtaining in depth data and being more objective.

10.1 Contents of HRE and HE

The research analysed the contents of the school curricula in HE and HRE for students aged 11 to 14. There have been two sets of curriculum change since the regime change in 2004, the latest in 2007. However, despite changes to the core HE contents, the subject still

focuses on wars and violent methods of resolving conflicts, and the research revealed the scarce peace values in the HE curriculum. Since it is taught in an Islamic context, the knowledge in the HE textbooks is considered very sensitive for teachers, students and the ME. The content, however, is not representative of the cultural diversity in IK and lacks historical narratives of other communities living in IK and of other schools within Islam. Meanwhile, HRE raises a fundamentally different narrative to the previous curriculum taught in IK schools. This challenges teachers to make it open to discussion and enable students to feel free to reflect upon it. As Lederach (1995:8) argues, “conflict is connected to meaning, meaning to knowledge and knowledge is rooted in culture”.

Values presented and promoted in the HE curricula included segregation and unilateralism, and those instigating violence, martyrdom, isolation and discrimination based on ethnicity. Such values increase the sense of nationalism and indoctrination through dominant group knowledge whilst misrepresenting other component narratives, and so may drive students towards extremism, since they read only one historical narrative while historical events that may invite criticism of the government are omitted. In comparison, in societies such Palestine and Israel (Bar-on, Adwan and Naveh 2012, 2003) and Rwanda (Bijlsma 2009) including different narratives in the HE textbooks was considered a valid option in building the idea of coexistence and reconciliation among different groups. Furthermore, during my research observations, war values were found to be implicit within HE teaching practices and little importance was attached to peace values such as nonviolence, forgiveness and reconciliation.

In contrast, HRE contents taught students awareness of universalisation of HR conventions and laws, rights and respect for others, human rights violations, nonviolence and child labour. It encouraged students to foster good relationships with others, to respect others, to be loyal to family and nation, to respect the law, learn about environmental awareness, freedom of opinion, and rights and responsibilities. The values emphasised included equality, love for education, responsibility, self-esteem, rights, self-respect, taking care of oneself, humanity, unity of family, solidarity, sharing and politeness, participation, cooperation, responsibility, conscientiousness, orderliness and freedom of owning oneself.

However, there was a significant lack of contextualising the HRE contents to the Kurdish context; again, in contrast to HE. The lack of contextual awareness was exemplified by the cover picturing only fair-haired children, which may reflect the ME’s lack of a sense of ownership of the project and its having more awareness of the

international community than the local context. This also may indicate an attempt by the ME to adopt a white Western image in contrast to the Kurdish identity and image. In any case, this is liable to galvanise resistance on the grounds that HRE is an imposed Western discourse, especially since the INGOs also adopted discursive discourses of international HR without taking into consideration the kyriarchy of Kurdish society.³³⁴ However, as made clear in Chapter Three, PE is elastic, involving ‘give and take’, and as such its practitioners should be open to learning from different cultures. There are peace values that need to be learnt from Islam such as sharing, togetherness, justice and reconciliation. These are represented in traditional practices such as *zakat* (almsgiving) and fasting for Ramadan. In the former, Muslims pay 2.5% of their wealth willingly to the poor whilst experiencing hunger and thirst by fasting from sunrise to sunset for the month of Ramadan to understand and experience being poor. As Lederach (1995:10) contends, “understanding conflict and developing appropriate models of handling it will necessarily be rooted in, and must respect and draw from, the cultural knowledge of a people”.

The analysis of HE content demonstrated that symbolic violence is enacted through the curriculum and through pedagogical techniques imposed on teachers and students which reflect the power relations of the larger society. The dominance of the ruling group is reflected in the pedagogic action (curriculum objectives, content, educational materials and assessment strategies) that promotes the culture of the dominant group. Performance-related assessment and curriculum coverage specifications serve to secure a monopoly that excludes or devalues non-examinable subjects, like HRE, which pose a threat to the structural and cultural ethos of the school. This brings to the fore that HE contents, methods, materials and assessment strategies in formal schooling manifest the cultural arbiter of the dominant social order. A ‘cultural arbiter’ is one of the many possible systems of knowledge or culture that designates itself as the only legitimate system of knowledge in the social order. Consequently, this becomes the arbiter of the ideas, attitudes and values that are systematically taught and endorsed throughout society to maintain that social order (White 1980).

Thus, in the IK system, all pedagogic action within the school serves to reproduce the structure of power relations within society by ranking pupils in terms of knowledge

³³⁴ Kyriarchy is different from patriarchy (oppression-based on gender) since kyriarchy refers to the intersection, interconnection and interaction of different forms of oppressions, submission such as social and economic injustices, sexism, homophobia, and racism. Through this, the domination of one person or group becomes internalised, naturalised and institutionalised through one form or different forms of oppressions. For example, a person or group may be privileged in one form and oppressed in another.

that the cultural arbiter has imposed. Indeed, all pedagogic actions are symbolically violent in so far as they seek to impose arbitrary cultural meanings in the context of specific power relations. Therefore, all attempts at instruction, be they carried out in the family, school or elsewhere, are forms of symbolic violence because the meanings selected for imposition are those of a dominant group (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). The overall effect of this is the reproduction of the structure of distribution of cultural capital among the different groups, and hence to the reproduction of the total structure.

10.2 Methods of Teaching

The predominant teaching method observed in IK schools was still the ‘banking system’ and there was a notable lack of knowledge, skills and facilities to practise the new methods that corresponded to the aims of the reformed education system and to skills for managing classrooms peacefully. This deficit was exacerbated by the lack of physical infrastructure such as classrooms and other facilities. Teachers not only lack support facilities but also autonomy in teaching and they complained that they have no control over the learning process but are controlled by curricula and other routines. This is a common characteristic in most of the Muslim Arab world. As Fandy (2007:93) argues, “the crisis of education in the Muslim world is not primarily one of infrastructure – a hardware problem – but lies in ‘software’: what is being taught, how it is being taught and the people who are teaching it”. Moreover, teacher training lacked open discussion about how one can best teach in the face of the struggles and obstacles experienced in schools. However, there was awareness among decision-makers and teachers about the need to change the status quo.

As discussed in the literature review, equipping peace educators with knowledge and skills to promote critical thinking among their students and to use interaction methods in their teaching is essential. Curricula contents are important, but these cannot be effective without teachers being trained to deliver information competently. Thus, teachers need to ‘internalise knowledge, skills, values and attitude of PE before they teach’ (Baxter and Ikobwa 2005:28). Lack of training for teachers is a challenge that threatens the implementation of PE worldwide with negative consequences. UNESCO (2011:169) has stated that PEPs suffer from such shortages where an appropriate curriculum and teacher training are not provided, and schools often end up as ‘political battlegrounds’. Educational systems, therefore, can reinforce prejudice and intolerance through the curriculum. Teachers may avoid discussing political issues and other sensitive topics for

reflection and critical-thinking issues, but this not in line with peace pedagogical aims. To do this, teachers must ‘deal with collective narratives and deeply rooted historical memories and social beliefs’ (Kupermintz and Salomon 2005). Hence, there is a need for incorporating peace pedagogy in the training of teachers (Bekerman and Zembylas 2012). Without enough quality training, teachers may find it difficult to make their lessons participatory and engender the critical thinking skills that are needed to create useful knowledge based on the experience of the learners (Turay and English 2008). Increasing classroom interaction, active learning and discovery learning through theatre, art and music groups were proposed as alternative methods to traditional techniques (Baxter and Ikobwa 2005). The research for this thesis highlighted the lack of adequate training and internalisation of the pedagogy and aim of PE.

The teaching of HRE has not reached the level of a specialization because it is taught in so few schools and the teachers of HRE that do exist have had little training about HR. Thus, until now, there have been no teaching institutions that have specialized in giving teachers instruction in HRE. Consequently, there is a lack of expertise in HR in IK. Furthermore, the coverage of HRE has not been systematic, hence, only HRE teachers have had training about HR and HRE values can be taught only in this specific class. Therefore, more widely spread teacher trainings are needed.

‘Safe schools’ represented an important solution in the PE literature review, as did the challenge of ending the pervasive belief that it is acceptable for teachers to use violence against students. This is especially difficult and necessary in a culture where corporal punishment is the norm and there is a high level of societal violence (Gershoff 2010). To remedy this, the ME is working with UNICEF to establish child-friendly schools.

Currently, the ME alone has the full official authority to prepare and revise teaching programs throughout the KRG region. However, it needs the support and endorsement of all societal agencies and social structures involved. The research revealed that the majority of teachers preferred and believed in traditional educational methods; they argued that the environment is not ready for change because there are many shortcomings, such as the lack of belief in the new methods and their benefits for teachers and students. The traditional system preserves the social prestige and authority of teachers over students. Thus, it preserves the cultural norms of society, including the blind compliance of children to adults whilst critical thinking and expressing different ideas, as encouraged by PE, transgresses these. Teachers and parents do not want their children to

learn to be critical as it may encourage them to criticise their elders' beliefs and to adopt different values and not listen to their parents. However, HRE fosters skills, knowledge and action within learners to build self-esteem and courage to change the status quo.

10.3 Overcoming Current Challenges

To overcome the challenges presented in the IK context, there is a need to educate more people and to implement more formal and informal PEPs, and to encourage parents to be involved in the practice of PEPs. There is also a need for more teachers and other sectors of society to be involved in the process of making and implementing PE. Also, many teachers recommended introducing HRE more widely to earlier ages and to all grades in IK schools rather than starting in fifth grade. Indeed, they emphasised the importance of introducing it in the first grade and even in kindergarten because by this age children are already socialized by families and communities to values attached to cultural traditions. Waiting till later is likely to involve attempting to instil knowledge that often goes counter to traditional cultural knowledge, which is especially problematic when there is little explanation and debate about HR values in the general population.

Moreover, IK needs both the additive and integrative approaches to implementing PE. There was a consensus amongst teachers that the knowledge of HR should be spread throughout schools' policies and culture, including incorporating HRE into all other subjects such as biology, philosophy, physical education, literature, art and so on. Moreover, all teachers, head teachers and educational officers must have relevant training and the majority of teachers are still either unaware of the new updated teaching methods, or they lack skills and facilities to implement it, or they are negligent about it. These issues made this study inclined to agree with Bush and Saltarelli (2000) that it is easier to add new educational initiatives than to change old ones because the change of educational practice is fundamentally a political threat in the sense that it challenges structures of authority, dominance and control. This would explain why the government put forth initiatives rather than try to change the educational structure.

HRE discourse can be used either to sustain the status quo of social structures or to contribute to their transformation. Scholars, such as Bourdieu (1991) and Bernstein et al. (1971) have argued that the reproduction of education is something determined and automatic. However, this paper argues that this is not the case as it depends on how students interpret and understand the subject, and how teachers deliver it. Although

students are disciplined to be 'docile', this is never total. The role of human agency in the mechanism of production through the tensions and conflicts occurring in families, schools and workplaces is also a factor. Therefore, students are not passive subjects of their schooling experiences. To the contrary, they are active learners, capable of restructuring the knowledge they receive and even of responding with critical thinking and reflective action (Giroux 1983). HRE knowledge and skills give students the capacity to change the status quo. For instance, teachers stated that students resisted the concept of physical punishment, and students expressed their concern over teachers using violence against them. Thus, in this way, HRE has empowered students in comparison with ten years ago when no one would have predicted that teachers' use of physical violence against students would be banned in the future. This supports Jabri's (1996) view that violence as a social phenomenon emerged through, and is constituted by, our social practices through time and across space. Consequently, it will take time for PE discourse to become a reality in a society. However, all societies must be empowered by PE discourses. As Galtung (1996: 74) argues, the process is basic, "for how can a conflict be consciously transformed unless the parties to a conflict are conscious subjects, true actors? Otherwise, the conflict will transform the actors as objects ... The party is only a passenger taken for a ride, not a driver presiding over the process."

There is a relationship between the absence and/or unawareness of HR and the presence of seemingly eternal authoritarian regimes (Almukhtar 2005). This may have led the developing world to be reluctant to include HRE in schools' curricula, and also made the IK ME reluctant to develop better policies for implementing peace pedagogy in schools. When the school as a government institution does not take seriously what it is teaching to its students, this becomes reflected in interactions among students, between students and teachers, and between teachers and parents, creating a double standard. Therefore, schools must be able to face the challenge and be ready to accept and reflect fundamental principles of democracy and human rights when they decide to put HRE into practice (Misgeld 1994).

However, the majority of the teachers interviewed and observed were not well enough prepared to accommodate all the demands of HRE. Not only did they lack knowledge about international HRE, but they also lacked commitment and were not ready emotionally, culturally and pedagogically. They have been brought up in an authoritarian culture and lack a critical approach to their educational work. They are not used to explaining or questioning their perspectives or their practices, nor the assumptions behind

their beliefs, attitudes and behaviours. Consequently, since to a great extent they are an integral and functional part of the system, they reproduce inequities, social injustices and various types of discrimination.

Undoubtedly, developing a new education system in IK based on modern theories and peace values and behaviour requires long-term strategies and persistent effort from teachers, HR trainers and the ME. Attitudes and values counter to human rights are deeply rooted in our culture and are not easy to change (involving countering the effects of cultural relativism with HRE). It is particularly difficult to produce changes in a context characterized by weak and unstable democratic institutions, where authoritarian behaviour in the political arena and in day-to-day life are an integral part of our culture; a context where corruption, cronyism, inequality, injustices are widespread throughout the spectrum of life.

However, it is exactly because our society faces so many difficulties - and schools are part of that society - that teachers should, through a critical approach, decode and deconstruct their own prior perceptions of this reality. They should be motivated to develop a critical consciousness of problems, analyse them and make their causes explicit; then to attempt to explore solutions, change conditions and to discover what is possible in confronting problems and take action to solve them. Through HRE, teachers could adopt the principles of transformative learning that could achieve this purpose. From this perspective, HRE should be considered ethical and political education. Moreover, HRE considers learning to be an integral part of life, rather than something separate from and largely irrelevant to other aspects of life as it is now.

Conversely, it was noticed during the research - when examining the process of making the curricula, ME strategies, school environments and the relationship among the education stakeholders - that HRE cannot function effectively in an educational atmosphere of violent restraints, vertical imposition of orders, authoritarian rule of teachers, rigid relations of teachers and students, and insufficient dialogue between decision-makers and teachers. Moreover, the lack of active involvement of students and parents in the system and of community partnerships leads to poor communication.

A critical pedagogy and HRE can make important changes in education by enabling a critical position. Being realistic and taking into consideration that education is resistant to change, I think that both subjects could and should contribute to change by integrating, penetrating and infusing education and curricula with social justice, empowerment and discussion about social, cultural and political issues, such as inequality,

discrimination, peace, gender, racism, etc.

To conclude, there are several factors that contribute to the current level of success of HRE in IK. These include the following:

- The leading role of the government as a partner at all levels, which gave HRE more legitimacy and credibility and addressed the concerns raised by society.
- The non-partisan and non-party political nature of the curriculum as it was developed in partnership with INGOs, and the program is evaluated under their supervision.
- Continuous and consistent support of the program by training educators and awareness of further need to support teachers.

Meanwhile, the following issues still need to be addressed:

- Creation of a community of human rights educators; this is due to the lack of experts, and lack of curricula and studies about HRE in teacher training.
- The lack of simple language and approaches to teaching; this was the major difficulty highlighted by teachers of HRE. The majority of teachers lack an understanding of the concepts and HR-specific language used.
- Cultural values familiar to the teachers and students need to be integrated into HRE.
- It is important to use long-term strategies to integrate HR and PE programme because it will require change in the structures, systems and attitudes.

10.4 Study Limitations and Future Research

There are many factors affecting peacebuilding in education systems of societies such as IK that have experienced prolonged conflict and these impose certain limitations on research. In particular, since the field of education is poorly researched in IK there was little scope for the author to build on other research conducted in the area. Moreover, the study itself focussed on only two subjects (HRE and HE) and there is a need for further research to give a more comprehensive picture of the peace/war-orientated influences in education generally. Thus, analysis of the curricula and implementation of other subjects, such as Geography, Social Sciences, Literacy and Islamic education is necessary. Other aspects that need more specific study are the analyses of gender perspectives and stereotypes in schools curricula and of how Western discourses are presented in the new textbooks, in particular, those relating to democracy.

Reliance on students and teachers statements and interviews could also be seen as a limitation. However, it has been demonstrated that interviewees tell the truth when provided with a conducive environment (Johnston 1985, Johnston et al. 1995). In this case, different methods were used to ensure the validity of knowledge, including observation, semi-structured and focus groups interviews and informal conversations with a broad variety of people working in educational sectors.

Being an insider has its own limitations and advantages. Despite all the preparation and awareness of my role and ethical issues it is possible that being an insider and engaged might hinder full objectivity and the ability to maintain an objective distance. However, awareness of this problem can mitigate it.

A study and revision of HE textbooks and those of other subjects that contain religious values, such as Arabic Language and Islamic Studies, is recommended as important new research. Since the latter continues to be an important subject in primary and secondary schools in all Arab countries, introducing PE approaches enables different narratives so students can learn that historical narrative is context-dependent and interpretative. Moreover, students can develop critical awareness through author-based accounts and dialogue in and outside lessons. The main purpose of changing educational standards should be to foster positive development in teachers and students; and to change community perspectives to make people's relationships more peaceful, less violent and with a greater capacity to resist extremist ideology.

A more comprehensive study of the impact of HRE and HE on students and teachers would also be interesting future research. This would enable us to document changing attitudes and structures and provide the ME and curriculum developers with

guidelines by which to revise the existing curricula and make the relevant changes.

Another area of research could be to explore the dilemmas and challenges of teaching HR, PE and Islam in the Middle Eastern context.

More focused research on students, teachers and parents' perception of HRE knowledge and how these affect their lives and understanding of everyday conflict resolution would provide insight into how well peace values are integrated; as would study of student-teacher relations and, more importantly, relations among students and teachers themselves. Additionally, research on the perception and reaction of religious leaders to the introduction of HRE would yield useful understandings of the situation.

10.5 My Contribution to the Educational Field

This item has been removed due to 3rd party copyright. The unabridged version of the thesis can be viewed in the Lanchester Library Coventry University.

Bin Laden on education reform

The research provided comprehensive analyses of the HRE and HE education textbooks and analyses of the strategy of the IK ME objectives in relation to PE. This is the first original study of curricula and teaching methods to be conducted in IK from a PE perspective. Education in societies with Muslim majorities in the Middle East has been cited as contributing to extremism, hatred and discrimination and the necessity for reforming their education system came to the fore after the attacks of 11 September 2001. This research gives an insight into the positive and negative contribution made by teaching HE and HRE and the study has become even more salient with the phenomenal rise of extremist groups in the Middle East, such as Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS).

This work also has significant relevance for theories that highlight the links between education and sectarian violence in Iraq (in particular, Shiia versus Sunni and vice versa). Throughout the history of Iraq, education has involved one-sided teaching of history, either comprising pro-Sunni or pro-Shiia knowledge of Islam. Moreover, the study suggests insight into the links between education and international violence, as much of the contents of the textbooks promote division between Muslims and non-Muslims. The findings of this research indicated the relevance of reforming schools subjects such as HE, as well as other social sciences, as these remain neglected in terms of PE and so lack peace-oriented values, despite the introduction of HRE. Thus my study contributes valuable knowledge and understanding about the IK schools curricula and the need for reforms to address injustice and discrimination. The research also highlighted the conservative hierarchical nature of Arab Muslim societies and the challenges of teaching HR and PE in such a context.

Furthermore, this research has gone some way to remedying the significant gap in knowledge relating to the links between conflict and education which, although a crucial subject in terms of world peace, is not well analysed by scholars. The international community has put little emphasis on education in post-conflict societies such as in Bosnia (Torsti 2009) and Afghanistan (Spink 2005), nor in Iraq. Instead, it focuses more on re-

³³⁵ Translated by Dan Darling, independent terrorism analyst in "Special Analysis: The 12/04 Bin Laden Tapes," *Winds of Change*, December 30, 2004, Available at <http://www.windsofchange.net/archives/006101.html>. [Accessed 19/11/2014].

building the physical structures of schools rather than reforming the whole educational structure including all schools subjects. Indeed, most efforts of reconstruction in such countries focused on security and elections. Consequently, the international community failed to support the role of education in nation-building and identity construction, relying instead on introducing PE through the additive approach that, as this study indicates, is undermined by the regressive content of the other subjects.

Thus, this thesis also highlights the need for the international community to promote long-term policies ensuring a peace-oriented structure of education rather than quick fix solutions. Thus, rather than introducing HRE into the schools curricula without improving other schools subject or making further changes that take into account obstacles met and the progress made, as happened in IK, INGOs need to give more consistent ongoing support to ensure a more pervasive introduction of PE.

At a more academic level, the research provides empirical and analytical support for theories of hegemony and symbolic hidden violence introduced by Bourdieu and Passeron (1991). It also confirms the relevance of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 2001) for studying the schools curricula. The analyses showed how educational systems are used to disseminate and maintain the knowledge and ideology of dominant groups. There were also elements of imposed ideology through Western discourses. Consequently, there was a lack of local ownership at all levels. This confirmed the interlinking of power and knowledge described by Habermas (1972) and Foucault (1980) whereby knowledge is always situated in relation to interests.

This study also highlighted the need for the cultural contextualising of PE. More care must be given to cultural knowledge, norms and values when introducing peace education programs and to building on the critical progressive aspects of the culture. In relation to this, the research contributes to understanding and dialogue between Western and Muslim majority societies when initiating PE. The Western sense of ownership of knowledge, combined with Muslim Arab states' sense of marginalisation and threat to their culture through Western discourse and practice, tends to result in all knowledge from the West being resisted. This is reflected in Western expectations of the Iraqi people's willingness to embrace liberal democracy and human rights without resistance and the lack of contextualisation of the HRE textbooks. This validates Edward Said's (1978) theory of the imposition of the Western vision of Arabs and Muslims as passive, chaotic, violent and always in need of Western intervention and help in order to become modern and rational beings, if possible at all.

Although implementation of HRE remains fragile, this study also supports Freire's (1970) theory of educational liberation that introducing PE can transform students' lives. Namely, that the introduction of HRE reduced violence enacted by teachers on students and students have become more aware of their rights. This, in turn, has built their self-esteem and confidence. Thus, taking into consideration the relatively short timescale of the introduction of HRE and the long history of indoctrinated education, this achievement is significant and needs to be supported by gradual progress in building a peace-orientated culture in schools.

Bibliography

- Abbas, T. (ed.) (2010) *Islam and Education*. Vols. 1-4. London: Routledge.
- Abdul, S. R., Othman, S., Muheadeen, A. and Abdul Rhaman, Z. A. (2012) *The Grade Seven Social Studies Textbooks, History Education Textbook Section*. (7th edn.). Erbil: Kurdistan Regional Government, Iraq Ministry of Education, General Directorate of Curriculum and Publication.
- Abu-Nimer, M. and Kadayifci, A. (2011) 'Human rights and building peace: the case of Pakistani madrasas'. *The International Journal of Human Rights* 15 (7), 1136-1159.
- Adams, D. (ed.). (1989) *The Seville Statement on Violence: Preparing the Ground for the Constructing of Peace*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Adwan, S., Bar-On, D. and Naveh, E. (eds.) (2012) *Side by side: Parallel histories of Israel-Palestine*. New York: The New Press.
- Afaq Tarbawia (2004) 'The procedures of ME in introducing the HRE in the school's curriculum [Ejraat edkal madat hikok alinsan fe eltalim]'. *Seasonal Educational Magazine*.
- Agarwal, A. (2014) 'Human Rights Awareness among the People of Agra City: A Comparative Study'. *Journal of Culture, Society and Development* 3, 31-42.
- Akkari, A. (2010) 'Privatising Education in the Maghreb: A path for a Two-Tiered Education System'. In *Education and the Arab World, Political projects, struggle and Geometries of Power*. World Yearbook of 2010. ed. by Mazawi, E. A. and Sultana, R. G. Routledge, 43-58.
- Akrawi, R. (2008) *Our schools and their schools and the way to catch up with the civilisation caravan: an objective and comparative study [Madarsuna wa madaresuhm derast mukaran]*. Duhok: Zana press.
- Al-Kubaisi, Y. (2012) 'A journey of learning: The curriculum in Iraqi schools and highereducation'. In H. Brunskell-Evans and M. Moore (eds.), *Re-imagining research for reclaiming the academy in Iraq: Identities and participation in post-conflict enquiry*. The Iraq Research Fellowship Programme (pp.53-63). Rotterdam: Sense.
- Al Samaraie, N. (2007) 'Humanitarian implications of the wars in Iraq'. *International Review of the Red Cross* 89 (868), 929-942.
- Al-Zeera, Z. (2001) *Wholeness and Holiness in Education: An Islamic Perspective*. Herndon: International Institute of Islamic Thoughts.

- Ala`din, A. S. (2004) *Education in Iraq. Current Situation and New Perspectives*. Baghdad: Ministry of Education.
- Alakad, A. M. (2007) *Thinking is an obligation in Islam [altafker faritha fee slam]*. (6th edn.). Egypt: Nahthat for publication.
- Alan, S. (2010) 'The influence of education on conflict and peace building'. Background paper prepared for Education for All Global Monitoring Report 201. The hidden crisis: Armed conflict and education. UNESCO.
- Al-Barakat, A. A. and Al-Karasneh, S. M. (2005) 'The contribution of school textbooks in the early grades of education in preparing young children to become effective citizens: teacher perspective'. *Journal of Early Childhood Research* 3 (2), 169-91.
- Alfaiad, A. (2005) 'A Detail Reading of the Draft of Iraqi Constitution'. Iraq: Al-kader [online] available from <http://www.alkader.net> [December 11, 2013],
- Ali, M. (2013) 'The religions and Islam' [online] available from www.alnabatieh.com [April 6, 2013]
- Al-Jazeera TV (2012) 'The Arabs in the diaspora [Arab Almahjar wal Irabeh al arabi]'. (Ali Althufairi interview Mohammed Saleem). *Aljazeera TV*, 2nd May 2012
- Al-Khalil, S. (1989) *The Republic of Fear: The Politics of Modern Iraq*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Al-Kumni, A. (2006) *The people of religion and democracy [Ahl deen wa democratia]*. Egypt: Almahrosa House Publisher.
- Allport, G. W. (1954, 1975, 1979) *The Nature of Prejudice*. Reading, MA: Perseus.
- Almukhtar, B. (2005) 'The need for HRE'. *Almaward Magazine* issued by Amnesty International, 4: 36.
- Alnbhani, T. A. (2002) *The Islamic State [Aldawala Alislamia]*. Lebanon: Dar Aluma for publishing and distributing.
- Alobedy, A. S. (2007) *The Psychological Impacts of War, Violence and Terrorism on Children in Iraq*. Iraq: Iraqi Association for Child Mental Health.
- Al-Rubaiy, A. A. (1972) *Nationalism and Education: A Study of Nationalistic Tendencies in Iraqi Education*. PhD dissertation. Kent: Kent State University.
- Alwardi, A. (2007) *The nature of Iraqi society [Derasa fe tabiyat al mujtama alyraqi]*. Baghdad: Dar al warak Publications.
- Amara, M. (2004) *The religious discourse between the Islamic renovation and American dissipation [Alkhitab Aldini baina altajded alislamy wal ltabded Alamricani]*. Cairo: Dar Alshroq International.

- Ameen, H. S. and Chola, C. A. (2011) *Human Rights Education Textbook, for Grade Seven Foundation Schools*. Activity written by Ameen A. M., Suliman R. and Muhammed A. J.; scientific revision by Hama Y. O. Lebanon: Almustakbal publication and Kurdistan Regional Government, Iraq Ministry of Education, General Directorate of Curriculum and Publication.
- Anderson, B. (1991) *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origins and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Anderson, L. and Stansfield, G. (2009) *Crisis in Kirkuk, the Ethnopolitics of Conflict and Compromise*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Anderson, L. and Stansfield, G. (2004) *The Future of Iraq: Dictatorship, Democracy, or Division?* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ansell, N. (2005) *Children, Youth and Development*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Anyon, J. (1979) Ideology and United States History Textbooks. *Harvard Educational*, 49: 361-86.
- Apple, M. (1982) *Education and Power*. Boston: Routledge.
- Apple, M. (2004) *Ideology and curriculum*. (3rd edn.). New York: Routledge Falmer.
- Apple, M. (1993) *Official Knowledge: Democratic Education in a Conservative Age*. London: Routledge.
- Apple, M. and Christian-Smith, L. K. (eds.) (1991) *The Politics of Textbooks*. New York: Routledge.
- Arab Human Development Report (2003) '*Building a Knowledge Society, 217*'. Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. UNDP Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development. Arab Gulf Programme for United Nations Development Organizations.
- Arab Human Development Report (2004) '*Towards Freedom in the Arab World 265*'. Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. UNDP Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development. Arab Gulf Programme for United Nations Development Organizations.
- Arab Human Development Report (2005) '*Towards the Rise of Women in the Arab World 335*'. Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. UNDP Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development. Arab Gulf Programme for United Nations Development Organizations.
- Ardizzone, L. (2001) 'Towards Global Understanding: The Transformative Role of Peace Education'. *Current Issues in Comparative Education* 4 (2).
- Ardizzone, L. (2002) 'Towards Global Understanding: The Transformative Role of Peace Education'. *Current Issues in Comparative Education* 4 (2), 16-25.

- Ashton, C. V. (2007) 'Using the theory of change to enhance peace education evaluation'. *Conflict Resolution Quarterly* 25: 1-15.
- Aspeslagh, R. and Burns, R. J. (1983) 'Concepts of Peace Education: A View of Western Experience'. *International Review of Education* 29 (3), 311-330.
- Aspeslagh, R. and Robert, B. (eds.) (1996) *Three Decades of Peace Education around the World*. Garland Publishing: New York.
- Atak I. (2005) *The Ethics of Peace and War from State Security to World Community*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Austin, J. (1962) *How to do things with words*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon press.
- Australian Government AusAID. (2012) 'Working Together to Address Violence against Women and Girls in Iraqi Kurdistan'. International Rescue Committee.
- Azar, E. (1990) *The Management of Protracted Social Conflict. Theory and Cases*. Aldershot: Dartmouth.
- Aziz, M. A. (2011) *Ethno nationalism and National identity in Iraqi Kurdistan*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Bajaj, M. (2008) Critical peace education. In *The encyclopaedia of peace education*. ed. by Bajaj, M. Greenwich CT: Information Age Publishing, 135-146.
- Bajaj, M. and Acosta, V. C. (2009) 'The Emergence of Human Rights Education amid Ethnic Conflict in the Dominican Republic'. In *Peace Education in Conflict and Post-Conflict Societies Comparative Perspectives*. ed. by McGlynn, C., Zvi Bekerman, M. Z. and Gallagher, T. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bajaj, M. and Brantmeier, E. (2011) 'The politics, praxis and possibilities of critical peace education'. *Journal of Peace Education* 8 (3), 221-224.
- Balasooriya, A. (2007) 'Insights into Peace Education: A teacher's experience in Sri Lanka'. Kottawa, Pannipitiya, Sri Lanka [online] available from <http://asbalasooriyaoneducation.blogspot.com/search/label/Peace%20Education%20-%20A%20Teacher%27s%20Experience> [August 1, 2012]
- Balasooriya, S. A., Perera, L. S. and Wijetunge, S. (2004) Education Reform and Political Violence in Sri Lanka. In *Education, Conflict and Social Cohesion*. ed. by Tawil, S. and Harley, A. Geneva: UNESCO International Bureau of Education.
- Banks, D. (2001) 'Promises to keep: Results of the national survey of human rights education'. [online] available from <http://www.hrusa.org/education/PromisestoKeep.htm>. [July 1, 2009]
- Barakat, H. (2006) *Estrange in Arabic Intellect [Alekrab fe al thakafa alarabia]*, (1st edn.). Arab Unity Studies Centre.

- Baram, A. (1996) 'Reinventing Nationalism in Ba`thi Iraq, 1968-1994: Supra Territorial and Territorial identities and what lies Below'. *Interdisciplinary journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 5, 29-56.
- Barash, D. and Charles, P. W. (2002) *Peace and Conflict Studies*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Bar-On, D. (2010) 'Story-telling and multiple narratives in conflict situations: from TRT group in the German-Jewish context to the dual narrative approach of PRIME'. In *Handbook on Peace Education*. ed. by Salomon, G. and Cairns, E. Hove: Psychology Press, 199-212.
- Bar-On, D. and Adwan, S. (2006) 'The Psychology of Better Dialogue between Two Separate but Independent Narratives'. In *Israeli and Palestinian narratives of conflict: History's double helix*. ed. by Rotberg, R. I. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 205-224.
- Bar-On, D. and Kassem, F. (2004) 'Storytelling as a way to work through intractable conflicts: the TRT German-Jewish experience and its relevance to the Palestinian-Israeli context'. *Journal of Social Issues* 60, 289-306.
- Bar-On, D., Litvak-Hirsh, T. and Othman, R., R. (2007) 'Within Group Variance as a Facilitator of Dialogue: A Jewish-Arab Israeli Encounter Group Focused on Family Stories'. *Journal of International Cooperation in Education* 10 (1), 33-51.
- Bar-Tal, D. (2002b) 'Paradoxes of Peace and the Prospects of Peace Education'. In *Peace Education: The Concepts, Principles and Practices Around the World*. ed. by Salomon, G. and Nevo, B. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Bar-Tal, D. (2000) *Shared Beliefs in a Society*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Bar-Tal, D. (2002a) 'The elusive nature of peace education'. In *Peace Education: The Concepts, Principles and Practices Around the World*. ed. by Salomon, G. and Nevo, B. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Bar-Tal, D. (1998) 'The rocky road toward peace: Beliefs on conflict in Israeli textbooks'. *Journal of Peace Research* 35: 723-742.
- Bar-Tal, D. and Yigal, R. (2009) 'Condition for development of peace education in intractable conflict: Direct and Indirect Models'. *Review of Educational Research* 79 (2), 557-575.
- Bar-Tal, D. and Yona, T. (2005) 'Stereotypes and Prejudice in Conflict: Representations of Arabs in Israeli Jewish Society'. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Bar-Tal, D. Lily, C., Noa, S. and Ayelet, G. (2009) 'A sense of self-perceived collective victimhood in intractable conflicts'. *International Review of the Red Cross* 91 (874), 229-258.

- Barton, L. (1997) 'Inclusive Education: Romantic, Subversive or Realistic?'. *Inclusive Education* 1 (3), 231-242.
- Bashkin, O. (2009) *The Other Iraq: Pluralism and Culture in Hashemite Iraq*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Bashkin, O. (2006) 'When Mu'awiya Entered the Curriculum- Some comments on the Iraqi Education System in the Interwar Period'. *Comparative Education Review* 50 (3), 346-66.
- Baxter, P. and Elder, K. (2005) 'An introductory course for policymakers and practitioners of education programmes. Quality Education in Conflict- Affected Countries' [online] available from <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001433/143319e.pdf> [August 12, 2014]
- Baxter, P. and Ikobwa, V. (2005) 'Peace education: What and how?'. *Forced Migration Review* 22, 28-29.
- BBC News Online (2007, January 22). 'Aid workers have warned of a growing crisis for refugees who have fled Iraq'. [online] available from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/6286129.stm [February 20, 2012].
- BBC News Online (2007, January 22). 'Warnings of Iraq Refugee Crisis'. [online] available from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/6286129.stm [February 2, 2011].
- Bekerman, Z. and Zembylas, M. (2012) *Teaching Contested Narratives: Identity, Memory and Reconciliation in Peace Education and Beyond*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bell, L., Nathan, A. and Peleg, I. (eds.) (2001) *Negotiating Culture and Human Rights*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Bengio, O. (1998) *Saddam's word: political discourse in Iraq*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bennaars, G. (1998) *Schools in Need of Education: Towards an African Pedagogy*. Nairobi: LECTERN Publications.
- Ben-Porath, S. (2006) *Citizenship under fire: Democratic education in times of conflict*. Princeton: Princeton University.
- Bernat, V. (1993) Teaching peace. *Young Children* 48 (3), 36-39.
- Bernstein, B. (1994) 'Pedagogizing Knowledge. A Social Grammar'. In *Knowledge and Development*. ed. by Amundsen, I. Tromsø, Norway: NFU Conference Proceedings, University of Tromsø.

- Bernstein, B. (2001) 'Video conference with Basil Bernstein'. In *Towards a sociology of pedagogy. The contribution of Basil Bernstein to research*. ed. by Morais, A. M. Neves, I. B. Davies and Daniels, H. New York: Peter Lang.
- Bijlsma, S. (2009) 'Teaching history: Looking for unity in Rwanda's classrooms'. In *Opportunities for change. Education innovation and reform during and after conflict*. ed. by Nicolai, S. Paris, France: UNESCO, 218–229.
- Bird, L. (2003) *Surviving school: Education for refugee children from Rwanda 1994–1996*. Paris, France: UNESCO/IIEP.
- Bjerstedt, Å. (1986) *Lära för framtid [Learning for the Future]*. Stockholm: Liber Utbildningsförlaget.
- Bjerstedt, A. (ed.). (1992) *Peace Education around the World: Some Expert Interviews*. Sweden: Malmo School of Education, Lund University.
- Bjerstedt, A. (1993) 'Peace education in schools around the world at the beginning of the 1990s'. In *Peace education: Global perspectives*. ed. by Bjerstedt, A. Stockholm, Sweden: Almqvist and Wiksell International.
- Bjerstedt, Å. (ed.) (1990) *Preparedness for Peace, Conversations on Peace Education*. Sweden: Malmo School of Education, Lund University.
- Black, T. (1999) *Doing Qualitative Research in the Social Science*. London: Sage Publications.
- Bobbio, N. (1996) *The Age of Rights*. United Kingdom: Polity Press.
- Boulding, E. (1990) *Building a Global Civic Culture: Education for an Interdependent World*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.
- Boulding, E. (2000) *Cultures of Peace: The Hidden Side of History*. New York: Syracuse University Press.
- Boulding, E. (1978) *Stable Peace*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Boulding, E. (1991) 'Stable Peace Among Nations: A Learning Process'. In *Peace Culture and Society Transnational Research and Dialogue*. ed. by Boulding, E. Clovis, B. and Kevin, C. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 108–114.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977) Outline of a Theory of Practice, *Cambridge studies in social and cultural anthropology*, 16. (Trans. by N. Richard) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J. C. (1977, 1990) *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. London: Sage publications.

- Bretherton, D. (2003) 'Peace education in a post-conflict environment: The case of Sierra Leone'. *Ethos*, 11 (2).
- Bretherton, D., Weston, J. and Zbar, V. (2003) 'Peace education in a post-conflict environment: The case of Sierra Leone'. *Prospects* 33 (2), 219–230.
- Brock-Utne, B. (1985) *Educating for Peace: A Feminist Perspective (The Athene Series)*. New York: Pergamon Press.
- Brock-Utne, B. (1989) *Feminist Perspectives on Peace Education*. New York: Pergamon Press.
- Brock-Utne, B. (1995) 'Peace Education at the End of a Millennium'. In *Peace Education and Human Development*. ed. by Löfgren, H. Sweden: Department of Educational and Psychological Research, Malmo School of Education, Lund University.
- Brock-Utne, B. (1994) 'The distinction between education about peace and development and value-centered education intended to promote them'. In *Education for Human Rights and International Perspective*. ed. by Douglas, R. Paris: UNESCO International Bureau of Education, 55–83.
- Brock-Utne, B. (2000) *Whose Education for All? The Recolonization of the African Mind*. New York, London: Falmer Press.
- Brookfield, S. (1995) *Becoming a Critically Reflective Teacher*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Brooks, J. G. and Brooks, M. G. (2001) 'In search of understanding the case of constructivist classrooms: with the new introduction by the authors'. *Merrill education/ASCD college textbooks series*. Upper Saddle River, N. J: Merrill/prentice Hall.
- Bruner, J. (1990) *Acts of Meaning*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bryman, A. (2006, 2004) 'Paradigm Peace and the Implications for Quality'. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 9 (2), 11-126.
- Bryman, A. (2000) *Research Methods and Organizations Studies*. London: Routledge.
- Bryman, A. (2008) *Social Research Methods*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Buckland, P. (2006) 'Post-Conflict Education: Time for a reality check?'. In *Forced Migration Review Supplement: Education and Conflict: research, policy and practice*. Oxford: Refugees Studies Centre, UNICEF, Department of Educational Studies, University of Oxford.
- Bull, L. (2000) 'Walking with Peace: An Indigenous Journey'. *International Journal of Curriculum and Instruction* 2 (1), 65–84.

- Bulloch, J. and Harvey, M. (1993) *No Friends but the Mountains*. New York and London: Penguin Books.
- Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor. (2011) 'Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2011: Iraq'. United States Department of State. [online] available from <http://www.state.gov/j/drl/> [December 2, 2013].
- Burns, A. and Coffin, C. (eds.) (2001) *Analysing English in a Global Context: A Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Burns, R. (2008) 'Comparative and international education and peace education'. In *Encyclopaedia of Peace Education*. ed. by Bajaj, M. Charlottesville: Information Age Publishing, 128–135.
- Burns, R. (1995) 'Peace Education, the Representation of Participants and the Presentation of Conflict Through School Textbooks'. In *Peace Education and Human Development*. ed. by Löfgren, H. Sweden: Malmö.
- Burton, J. (1990) *Conflict Human Needs Theory*. New York: St. Martin Press.
- Bush, K. D. and Saltarelli, D. (eds.) (2000) *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict. Toward a Peace-Building Education for Children*. Florence: UNICEF Innocenti Research.
- Cairns, E. and Dunn, J. (2002) *Children and Political Violence*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Cairns, E. and Roe, M. (2003) *The Role of Memory in Ethnic Conflict*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Calhoun, C., Edward, L. and Postone, M. (1993) 'Introduction: Bourdieu and Social Theory'. In *Bourdieu: critical perspectives*. ed. by Calhoun, C. Edward, L. and Postone, M. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Calleja, J. (1995) 'The Future of Peace Education: Orientation and Evaluation'. In *Peace Education and Human Development* ed. by Löfgren, H. Sweden: Malmö.
- Calvocoressi, P. (2001) *World Politics 1945-2000*. Essex, UK: Pearson Education Limited.
- Cara, A. (2010) 'Study of Education Opportunities for Disabled Children and Youth and Early Childhood Development (ECD) in Iraq 2010'. [online] available from <https://www.escholar.manchester.ac.uk/api/datastream?publicationPid=uk-ac-manscw> [October 10, 2012].
- Cardenas, S. (2005) 'Constructing Rights? Human Rights Education and the State'. *International Political Science Review* Vol. 26, No. 4(Oct., 2005), 363-379.
- Carpenter, T. (2009) Galen Middle East Vortex: An Unstable Iraq and its Implications for the Region. *Mediterranean Quarterly* 2 (4), 22-31.

- Carson, T. and Lange, E. A. (eds.) (1997) *Peace Education in Social Studies*. Vancouver, BC: Pacific Educational Press.
- Carson, T. and Smith, D. (1998) *Education for a Peaceful Future*. Toronto, ON, Canada: Kagan and Woo.
- Carter, C. and Osler, A. (2000) 'Human rights, identities and conflict management: a study of school culture as experienced through classroom relationships'. *Journal of Education* 30 (3), 335-356.
- Chandler, D. (2004) 'The Responsibility to Protect? Imposing the 'Liberal Peace''. *International peacekeeping*, (11), 1, 59-81.
- Charmaz, K. (2006) *Constructing Grounded Theory*. London: Sage publications.
- Chavkin, N. F. (1993) *Families and schools in a pluralistic society*. Albany, New York: State university of New York press.
- Cochran-Smith, M. (2004) *Walking the road: Race, diversity and social justice in teacher education*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Cohen, L., Manion, L., and Keith, M. (eds.) (1989, 2000) *Research Method in Education*. (3rd edn.). London: Routledge.
- Cohn, E. (1979) *The economics of Education*. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing.
- Cole, E. (ed.) (2007) *Teaching the Violent Past History Education and Reconciliation*. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, INC.
- Cole, E. and Barsalou, J. (2006) 'Unite or Divide? The Challenges of Teaching History in Societies Emerging from Violent Conflict'. United State Institute of Peace (USIP) Special Report.
- Coleman, P. (2000) 'Intractable Conflict'. In *The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice*. ed. by Morton, D. and Coleman, P. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.
- Colenso, P. (2005) 'Education and social cohesion: developing a framework for education sector reform in Sri Lanka'. *Journal of Comparative and International Education* 35 (4), 411-428.
- Collier, P. and Hoeffler, A. (2000) *Greed and Grievance in Civil War*. Washington D.C.: World Bank.
- Collinge, J. (1995) 'Sharing Our Food Baskets: Some Thoughts on Peace Education and School Subjects in New Zealand'. In *Peace Education and Human Development*. ed. by. Löfgren, H. Sweden: Malmö.

- Commisso, A. (2004) *Textbooks programs in education crisis. A case study in Iraqi Textbook Quality Improvement Program for Primary and Secondary Education Mathematics and Science Textbooks*. France: UNESCO.
- Committee from Universities and Ministry of Education (2011) *The Grade Sixth social studies textbooks, History Education textbook section*. Scientific revision by Hussein S. O., trans. to Kurdish Kirmanji by Ahmed. K. S., Hassan H. M., Muhe, D. K. and Taha, Y. T. Sulaimaniyah, Kurdistan Regional Government, Iraq Ministry of Education: Dler publication.
- Connolly, P., Fitzpatrick, S., Gallagher, T. and Harris, P. (2006) 'Addressing diversity and inclusion in the early years in conflict-affected societies: A case study of the media initiative for children'. *International Journal for Early Years Education* 14 (3), 263–278.
- Cook, H. (1995) *The Safe Haven in Northern Iraq: International Responsibility for Iraqi Kurdistan*. London: Human Rights Centre, University of Essex and Kurdish Human Rights Project.
- Cooper, N. (2007) 'Review article: On the crisis of the liberal peace'. *Conflict, Security and Development*, 7 (4), 605-616.
- Cordesman, A. H. and Ahmed, S. H. (1997) *Iraq: Sanctions and Beyond*. Oxford: Westview Press.
- Crabtree, S. A. and Williams, R. (2010) 'Inclusive Education and Children with Disabilities in the Gulf Cooperation Council Member States'. In *Education and the Arab World, Political projects, struggle and Geometries of Power*. World Yearbook of 2010. ed. by Mazawi, A. E. and Sultana, R. G. Routledge, 196-213.
- Crawford, K. A. (1995) 'A History of the Right: the battle for the National Curriculum'. *British Journal of Educational Studies* 43 (4).
- Crawford, K. A. (2003) 'The Role and Purpose of Textbooks'. *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research* 3 (2), 5-12.
- Curle, A. (1971) *Making Peace*. London: Tavistock.
- Danesh, H. B. (2006) 'Towards an integrative theory of peace education'. *Journal of Peace Education* 3 (1), 55-78.
- Danesh, H. B. (2008) Unity-Based Peace Education. In *The encyclopaedia of peace education*. ed. by Bajaj, M. Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing.
- Darle, P. (2003) *Saddam Hussein maitre des mots: Du langage de la tyrannie a la tyrannie du langage*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

- David, M. (1992) *The Kurds A Nation Denied Foreword by John Simpson*. London.UK: Minority Rights Publications.
- David, N. (1999) 'REF/RL Iraq Report' (April 2, 1992). Vol. 2, NI3. Ref/RL.
- Davies, L. (2004) *Education and Conflict, Complexity and Chaos*. London and New York: Routledge. Falmer. Taylor and Francis Group.
- Davies, L. (2005a) 'Evaluating the link between conflict and education'. *Journal of peacebuilding and development* 2, 42-58.
- Davies, L. (2008) 'Global citizenship education'. In *Encyclopaedia of Peace Education*. ed. by. Bajaj, M. Information Age Publishing: Charlottesville, 109–114.
- Davies, L. (2005b) 'Making education more inclusive: democratic building and citizenship for all'. University of Amsterdam: Paper presented for the expert meeting on researching quality of education for all in the south, Main research issues and current gaps.
- Davies, L. (2005) 'Schools and war: urgent agendas for comparative and international education'. *Compare* 35 (4), 357–371.
- Davies, L. (2005c) 'Teaching about Conflict through Citizenship Education'. *International Journal of Citizenship and Teacher Education* 1 (2), 17–33.
- Dawisha, A. (2009) *Iraq: a Political History from Independence to Occupation*. USA: Princeton University Press.
- Dawisha, A. (2010) 'National Identity and Sub-State Sectarian loyalties in Iraq'. *International Journal of contemporary Iraqi Studies* 4 (3).
- De Santisteban, A. V. (2005) 'Sanction, War, Occupation and the Development of Education in Iraq'. *International Review of Education* 51: 59-71.
- Denise, N. (2008) 'The Kirkuk Conundrum'. *Ethnopolitics* 7 (4), 433-443.
- Denise, N. (2005) *The Kurds and the State: Evolving National Identity in Iraq, Turkey, and Iran*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Denise, N. (2004) 'Transnational Networks: New Opportunities and Constraints for Kurdish Statehood'. *Middle East Policy* 11 (1), 111-114.
- Deutsch, M. (1985) *Distributive Justice: A Social–Psychological Perspective*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Deutsch, M. (1993) 'Educating for a peaceful world'. *American Psychologist* 48: 510–517.
- Dewey, J. (1897) 'My pedagogic creed'. *The School Journal* 54 (3), 77–80.
- Dewey, J. (1990) *The Child and the Curriculum*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Dewey, J. (1990) *The School and Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Diamond, L. (2011) 'Iraqi Kurdistan Is Booming. Will It Ever Be a Separate State? The New Republic'. [online] available from <http://www.tnr.com/article/world/98838/kurdistan-iraq-autonomy> [May 24, 2012]
- Diazgranadosa, S., Noonana, J., Brion-Meiselsb, S., Saldarriagac, L., Dazac, B. C., Chávezd, M., et al. (2014) 'Transformative peace education with teachers: lessons from Juegos de Paz in rural Colombia'. *Journal of Peace Education* 11 (2), 150-161.
- Dodge, T. (2003) *Inventing Iraq: the Failure of Nation Building and a History Denied*. London: Hurst.
- Donovan, S. (2006) 'Kurdistan: the elusive quest for sovereignty'. *Harvard International Review* 28 (3).
- Doumato, E. A. and Starrett, R. G. (eds.) (2007) *Teaching Islam: Textbooks and Religion in the Middle East*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Doumato, E. A. and Starrett, R. G. (2007) 'Textbook Islam, Nation Building, and the Question of Violence'. In *Teaching Islam: Textbooks and Religion in the Middle East*. ed. by Doumato, E. A. and Starrett, R. G. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Dubai, T. (2012, April 3) 'The Arab Spring program at 4:00 PM GT'. Yazigi, Zina interviewed Tareque Ramadthan and Popvitech. The Arab Spring. Dubai, TV.
- Duckworth, C. (2006) 'Teaching peace: a dialogue on the Montessori Method'. *Journal of Peace Education* 3 (1), 39–53.
- Duerr, K., Vedrana, S. and Isabel, F. M. (2000) '*Strategies for Learning Democratic Citizenship*'. *Project on Education for Democratic Citizenship*. Council of Europe Publications.
- Duffy, T. (2000) 'Fragile Steps: Forging a culture of peace in Northern Ireland'. [online] available from <http://construct.haifa.ac.il/~cerpe/papers/duffy.html> [September 5, 2011]
- Dugan, M. A. and Dennis, C. (2002) 'Toward a Definition of Peace Studies'. In *Peace Education: The Concept, Principles and Practices Around the World*. ed. by Salomon, G. and Nevo, B. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Durkheim, E. (1951) *Suicide. A Study in Sociology*. Chicago: Free Press.
- Eckhardt, W. (1984) 'Peace studies and attitude change: A value theory of peace studies'. *Peace and Change* 4 (1), 79–85.

- Education and Learning (2008, April) 'The project of modification of education system of KRG in Iraq (baranmg taker altaleem fe Kurdistan aliraq)'. *Seasonal educational magazine*.
- Eisler, R. (2000) *Tomorrow's Children*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
- Eisler, R. and Miller, R. (eds.) (2004) *Educating for a Culture of Peace*. Portsmouth: Heinemann.
- El-Baz, F. (2009) 'Reform in Arab Countries: the Role of Education'. *The Journal of Education* 188 (3).
- Enns, C. and Sinacore, A. (2005) '*Teaching and social justice: Integrating multicultural and feminist theories in the classroom*'. Washington DC: American Psychological Association.
- Entessar, N. (1992) *Kurdish Ethnonationalism*. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner.
- Evans, D., Rawajfeh, A. M., Meenan-Waugh, K., Neary, P. and Stobie, T. (1999) *A Curriculum Framework for Peace Education*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Fairclough, N. (1995) *Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (1993) 'Critical Discourse Analysis and the Marketization of Public Discourse: The Universities'. *Discourse Society* 4 (2), 133-186.
- Fairclough, N. (1992) *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge, England: Polity Press.
- Fairclough, N. (1989) *Language and Power*. Essex: Longman Group.
- Fairclough, N. (2003) 'Political Correctness: the politics of culture and language'. *Discourse Society* 14 (1), 17-28.
- Fairclough, N. (2004) Semiotic Aspects of Social Transformation and Learning. In *An Introduction to Critical Discourse Analyses in Education*. ed. by Roger, R. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associations, Inc. Mahwah.
- Falzon, C. (1998) *Foucault and Social Dialogue: beyond fragmentation*. London: Routledge.
- Fandy, M. (2007) 'Enriched Islam: the Muslim Crisis of Education'. *Survival* 49(2).
- Farouk-Sluglett, M. and Sluglett, P. (1990) *Iraq Since 1958: From Revolution to Dictatorship*. London, New York: I. B. Tauris.
- Farrell, A. D. and Meyer, A. L. (1997) 'The Effectiveness of a school-based curriculum for reducing violence among urban sixth-grade students'. *American Journal of Public Health* 87: 979-984.

- Firer, R. (2002) 'The Gordian knot between peace education and war education'. In *Peace Education: The Concept, Principles, and Practices Around the World*. ed. by Salomon, G. and Nevo, B. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Firer, R. (2008) 'Virtual peace education'. *Journal of Peace Education* 5 (2), 193-207.
- Fisher, R. (2000) 'Intergroup Conflict'. In *The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice*. ed. by Deutsch, M. and Coleman, P. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.
- Fisher, R. (1993) 'The Potential for Peacebuilding Forging a Bridge from Peacekeeping to Peace-making'. *Peace and Change* 18 (3), 241-266.
- Fiske, J. (1989) *Reading the Popular*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.
- FitzGerald, F. (1979) *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Vintage Press.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2001) *Making Social Science Matter. Why social inquiry fails and how it can succeed again*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Foster, S. (1999) *The Struggle for American Identity: treatment of Ethnic Groups in United States History Textbooks*. Atlanta, Georgia: International Association of Children's Social and Economic Education conference.
- Foucault, M. (1980) *Power/Knowledge*. Brighton, UK: Harvester.
- Foucault, M. (1984) *The Foucault reader*. New York: Pantheon.
- Foucault, M. and Swyer, R. (1971) 'Orders of Discourse'. *Social Science Information* 10 (2), 7-30.
- Fountain, S. (1999) *Peace Education in UNICEF*. New York: UNICEF.
- Francis, D. (2002) *People, Peace and Power*. London: Pluto Press.
- Franzen, J. (2012) Writing the History of Iraq: The Fallacy of Objective History. In *Writing the Modern History of Iraq: Historiographical and political challenges*. ed. by Tejel, J., Sluglett, P., Bocco, R and Bozarslan, H., Singapore: World Scientific.
- Freire, P. (1974) *Education for Critical Consciousness*. New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group, Inc.
- Freire, P. (1970) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group, Inc.
- Fukuyama, F. (1992) *The End of History and the Last Man*. New York: Free Press.
- Furman, G. and Grenewald, A. (2004) 'Expanding the landscape of social justice: A critical ecological analysis'. *Educational Administration Quarterly* 40 (1), 47-76.

- Gall, M. D., Gall, J. P., and Borg, W. R. (2003). *Educational Research: An Introduction*. (7th edn.). White Plains, New York: Longman.
- Gallagher, C. (1996) *History Teaching and the promotion of democratic values and Tolerance. A handbook for teachers*. Strasburg: Council of Europe.
- Galtung, J. (ed.) (2008) *Form and Content of Peace Education*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.
- Galtung, J. (2007) 'Introduction: peace by peaceful conflict transformation- the Transcend approach'. In *Handbook of peace and conflict studies*. ed. by Webel, C. and Galtung, J. London: Routledge.
- Galtung, J. (1993) 'Kulturelle Gewalt'. *Der Bürger im Staat* 43 (2), 106-112.
- Galtung, J. (1974) 'On Peace Education'. In *Handbook on Peace Education*. ed. by Wulf, C. Frankfurt/Main: International Peace Research Association 153-171.
- Galtung, J. (1996) *Peace by Peaceful Means: peace and conflict, development and civilization*. Oslo and London: PRIO Sage.
- Galtung, J. (1983) 'Peace education: learning to hate war, love peace and do something about it'. *International Review of Education* 29 (3), 281-287.
- Galtung, J. (1975) 'Peace Research Education Action: Essays in Peace Research. Copenhagen'. *Eljers* 1, 334-339.
- Galtung, J. (1980) *The True Worlds: A Transnational Perspective*. New York: Free Press.
- Galtung, J. (2004) *Transcend and Transform; An Introduction to Conflict Work*. London: Pluto Press.
- Galtung, J. (1990) 'Violence and Peace'. In *A Reader in Peace Studies*. ed. by Paul, S. Davies, R. and Munske, B. Toronto: Pergamon, 3-14.
- Galtung, J. (1969) 'Violence, Peace and Peace Research'. *Journal of Peace Research* 6 (3), 167-191.
- Galtung, J. and Ikeda, D. (1995) *Choose Peace*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press, Sage Publications.
- Galtung, J. (1996) *Peace by peaceful means: Peace and conflict, development and civilization*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Gearon, L. (ed.) (2002) *Human Rights and Religion: A Reader*. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press.

- Gee, J. P. (2004) 'Discourse Analysis: what makes it critical?'. In *An Introduction to Critical Discourse Analyses in Education*. ed. by Roger, R. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associations, Inc. Mahwah.
- Gershoff, E. T. (2010) 'More harm than good: A summary of scientific research on the intended and unintended effects of corporal punishment on children'. *Law and Contemporary Problems* 73 (2), 31–56.
- Gevisser, M. and Morris, M. (2002) 'Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy'. In *Spirit of the Nation*. ed. by Asmal, K. and James, W. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council and the Department of Education, 190-219.
- Giddens, A. (1979) *Central Problems in Social Theory*. Great Britain: The Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Giddens, A. (1984) *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gilligan, C. and Wiggin, G. (1987) The two origins of morality in early childhood relationships. In *The emergence of morality in young children*. ed. by Lamb, S. and Kagan, J. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Giroux, H. (2009) 'Teachers as transformative intellectuals'. In *Kaleidoscope: Contemporary and classic readings in education*. ed. by Ryan, K. and Cooper, J. M. Belmont: Wadsworth, Cengage learning.
- Giroux, H. (1983b) 'Theories of Reproduction and Resistance in the New Sociology of Education: A Critical Analysis'. *Harvard Educational Review* 53: 257-293.
- Giroux, H. (1983a) *Theory and Resistance in Education. A Pedagogy of the Opposition*. South Hadley, MA: Bergin and Garvey.
- Goldstein, J. (2001) *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Graham-Brown, S. and Chris, T. (2003) 'A Backgrounder on Inspections and Sanctions'. In *The Iraq War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions*. ed. by Micah, L. S. and Christopher, C. New York: Simon and Schuster, 165-173.
- Gramsci, A. (1971) *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Grant, C. A. and Agosto, V. (2008) 'Teacher capacity and social justice in teacher education'. In *Handbook of research on teacher education: Enduring questions in changing contexts*. (3rd edn.). ed. by Cochran-Smith, M. Feiman-Nemser, D. McIntyre, J. and Demers, K. E. New York: Routledge, 175-200.
- Gray, D. E. (2009) *Doing Research in the Real World*. (2nd edn.). Los Angeles: Sage.

- Green, P. (1997) 'Teaching nonviolence in a violence-addicted world'. *Journal of Consciousness and Transformation* 20 (2), 1–5.
- Griffin, W. L. and Marciano, J. (1979) *Teaching the Vietnam War*. Monclair, N.J.: Allenhead, Osmun.
- Griffiths, M. (2010). 'A Situational Analysis of Girls Education in Iraq'. Paris: UNICEF. [online] available from http://www.ungei.org/files/full_report_iraq_2010.pdf [September 29, 2014].
- Groff, L. and Smoker, P. (1996) 'Creating Global-Local Cultures of Peace'. *Peace and Conflict Studies* 3 (1).
- Grundmann, J. (2005) 'Islamist Responses to Educational Reform'. ISIM Review 15.
- Gubel, G. and Jaeger, U. (2004) 'Essentials of Peace Education'. [online] available from http://www.friedenspaedagogik.de/english/topics_of_the_institute_s_work/peace_education/essentials_of_peace_education__1/essentials_of_peace_education [November 12, 2011]
- Gunter, M. (1999) *The Kurdish Predicament in Iraq: A Political Analysis*. New York: St. Martin Press.
- Gunter, M. (2007) *The Kurds Ascending*. London: Pelgrave Macmillan.
- Gunter, M. (1992) *The Kurds of Iraq: tragedy and hope*. New York: St. Martin Press.
- Gutek, G. L. (2006) *American Education in a Global Society: International and Comparative Perspectives*. Long Grove, Illinois: Waveland Press, Inc.
- Haas, M. (2009) 'Children and Unlamented Victims of Bush's War Crimes'. [online] available from <http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article22529.htm> [September 2, 2011].
- Haavelsrud, M. (1983) 'An introduction to the debate on peace education'. *International Review of Education* 29 (3), 275–287.
- Haavelsrud, M. (2008) Conceptual perspectives on peace education. In *Encyclopaedia of Peace Education*. ed. by Bajaj, M. Charlotte: Information Age Publishing, 59–66.
- Haavelsrud, M. (1993) *Disarming: Discourse on violence and peace*. Tromso: Arena.
- Habibi, S. C. (2005) 'Transforming Worldviews the Case of Education for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina'. *Journal of Transformative Education* 3 (1), 33–56.
- Hamadameen, W. S. and Ali, S. O. (2011) *The Grade fifth social studies textbooks, History Education textbook section*. (1st edn.). Trans. to Kurdish Kirmanji by Muhammed S.H. Sulaimaniyah, KRG. Kurdistan Regional Government, Iraq

Ministry of Education, General Directorate of Curriculum and Publication: Dler publication.

- Hammersly, M. (2003) 'Deconstructing the qualitative-quantitative divide'. In *Mixing Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Research*. ed. by Brannen, J. London: Ashgate.
- Hans, V. S. (2011, March) 'Iraq: A Case of Educide'. [online] available from <http://www.brussellstribunal.org/Seminar/texts/en/2.pdf> [February 1, 2013].
- Hanson, M. K. (1994) 'A conflict resolution/student mediation programme: Effects on student attitudes and behaviours'. *Journal of School Research and Information* 12 (4), 9-14.
- Harb, I. (2008) 'Higher Education and the Future of Iraq'. Special Report 195. USA: United States Institute of Peace (USIP).
- Harris, I. (2002) Conceptual Underpinnings of Peace Education. In *Peace Education: The Concepts, Principles, and Practices Around the World*. ed. by Salomon, G. and Nevo, B. New York: Lawrence Erlbaum, 15–26.
- Harris, I. (2004) 'Peace education theory'. *Journal of Peace Education* 1 (1), 5-20.
- Harris, I. (2000) *Peace-building responses to school violence*. New York: National Association of Secondary School Principals.
- Harris, I. (1990) 'Principles of peace pedagogy'. *Peace and Change* 15 (3), 254-271.
- Harris, I. (1992) 'The Challenge of peace education: Do our efforts make a difference?'. *Educational Foundation* 6 (4), 75–98.
- Harris, I. (ed.). (2008) *The Promises and Pitfalls of Peace Education Evaluation*. New York: Information. Age Publishing, Inc.
- Harris, I. (1999) Types of peace education. In *How Children Understand War and Peace*. ed. by Raviv, A. Oppenheimer, L. and Bar-Tal, D. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 299–317.
- Harris, I. and Morrison, M. (2003) *Peace Education*. (2nd edn.). Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co.
- Hassanpour, A. (1992) *Nationalism and Language in Kurdistan, 1918-1985*. San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press.
- Hayden, P. (ed.) (2001) *The Philosophy of Human Rights*. St Paul, MN: Paragon Press.
- Hefner, R. W. and Zaman, M. Q. (eds.) (2007) *schooling Islam: The culture and politics of Modern Muslims Education*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

- Hemphill, P. (1979) 'The formation of the Iraqi army, 1912–1933'. In *The integration of modern Iraq*. ed. by Kelidar A. London: Croom Helm.
- Henia, D. (2007) 'Tackling sexual violence, abuse and exploitation'. In *Iraq's displacement crisis: the search for solutions*. ed. by Marion, C. and Morris, T. Forced Migration Review 39-40.
- Herrera, L. and Torres, C. A. (2006) *Cultures of Arab Schooling: Critical Ethnographies from Egypt*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Hester, P. J. (1994) *Teaching for thinking: A program for school improvement through teaching critical thinking across the curriculum*. Durham N.C.: Carolina academic press.
- Hicks, D. (2008) 'Futures Education'. In *Encyclopaedia of Peace Education*. ed. by Bajaj, M. Charlottesville: Information Age Publishing, 127–134.
- Hicks, D. (2002) 'Racial Justice, Global Development Or Peace Which Shall We Choose in School?'. In *Peace Education: The Concept, Principles and Practices Around the World*. ed. by Salomon, G. and Nevo, B. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Hicks, D. (1988) 'Understanding the Field'. In *Education for Peace: Issues, Principles, and Practice in the Classroom*. ed. by Hicks, D. London: Routledge.
- Hill, I. (2001) 'Curriculum development and ethics in international education'. *Disarmament Forum* 3, 49-58.
- Hirseland, K., Cecchini, M. and Odom, T. (2004) *Evaluation in the Field of Education for Democracy, Human Rights and Tolerance. A Guide for Practitioners*. Güterloh: Bertelsmann Foundation Publishers.
- Hoglund, K. and Magnus, O. (2011) *Understanding Peace Research Methods and Challenges*. Routledge.
- Holme, A., Idar, M. and Bernt, K. S. (1996) *Metodevalg Og metodebruk*. Oslo: Tano.
- Howard, T. (2003) 'Culturally Relevant Pedagogy: Ingredients for Critical Teacher Reflection'. *Theory into Practice* 42 (3), 195-202.
- Hussain, F. (1982) 'Aljawal Arabia associaltion (Jamaiya al-jawwal al-arabi (Arab scout)'. *Baghdad University Bulletin* 33 (2).
- ICG International Crisis Group (2011) 'Iraq And The Kurds: Confronting Withdrawal Fears', Middle East Report N°103, 28 March 2011, Amman/ Brussels: International Crisis Group.

- ICG International Crisis Group (18 July 2006) 'Iraq and the Kurds: The brewing battle over Kirkuk', Middle East Report, N°56, 18 July 2006, Amman/ Brussels: International Crisis Group.
- ICG International Crisis Group (2004). 'Iraq's Kurds: Toward an Historic Compromise'. *Middle East Report* No. 26, 8 April 2004, Amman/ Brussels: International Crisis Group.
- ICG International Crisis Group (2008) 'Oil for Soil: Toward a Grand Bargain on Iraq and the Kurds', Middle East Report, No 80, 28 October 2008, Amman/ Brussels: International Crisis Group.
- Ife, J. (2007) 'Human Rights and Peace'. In *Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies*. ed. by Webel, C. and Galtung, J. London and New York: Routledge.
- Ignjatovic-Saric, N. et al. (1996) *Words are Walls or they're Windows*. Vol. 1-2. Belgrade: Ministry of Education and UNICEF Belgrade.
- İnanç, G. and Niyazi, K. (2009) 'Imagining the Future and Rewriting the Past: The 'New' History of Turkish Cypriots'. *Turkish Policy Quarterly* 7 (4).
- Institute for War and Peace reporting (2010) 'Iraqi crisis'. *Institute for War and Peace reporting* No. 311.
- Iraq Ministry of Education (IR-ME) (2003, 2009) *Arab Islamic History for Second Year (Eighth Grade) of secondary schools [al-Tarikh al-'Arabi al-Islami li-l-Saff al-Thani al-Mutawassit]*. Baghdad: Ministry of Education.
- Iraq Ministry of Education (IR-ME) (2001) *The Ancient History of the Arab Homeland for First Year (Seventh Grade) Secondary School [al-Tarikh al-Kadim li-l-Watan al-'Arabi li-l-Saff al-Awwal al-Mutawassit]*. Baghdad: Ministry of Education.
- Iraqi-General Directorate of Curriculum (IR-GDC) (2003, 2012) *Modern and Contemporary History of the Arab Homeland for third grade Ninth Grade of secondary school [Altarik alahadith lil watanina alarabi]*. Baghdad: Ministry of Education.
- IRIN (2007) 'Iraq: Child mortality soars because of violence, poor health care'. Baghdad: IRIN.
- Ismael, J., Ismael, T. Y. and Baker, R. W. (2004) 'Iraq and Human Development: Culture, Education, and the Globalization of Hope'. *Arab Studies Quarterly* 26 (2), 49–66.
- Ismael, S. T. (2008) 'The lost generation of Iraq: children caught in the crossfire'. *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies* 2 (2).
- Ismail, R. S., Muhammed, A. J., Baker, K. A. and Hawrami, M. O. (2012) *Human Rights Education Textbook, for grade Fifth foundation schools [mafe mrovi konaka*

- bench*]. (1st edn.). Sulaimaniyah. Kurdistan Regional Government, Iraq Ministry of Education, General Directorate of Curriculum and Publication: Dler publication.
- Jean, Z. (2005, October 15) 'US Troops Starve Iraqi Citizens'. BBC News. [online] available from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/4344136.stm> [September 2, 2010].
- John, A. (2007) *Mugged by Reality: The Liberation of Iraq and the Failure of Good Intentions*. (1st edn.). New York: Encounter Books.
- John, P. (2000, March 4) 'Squeezed to Death'. *The Guardian*. [online] available from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/theguardian/2000/mar/04/weekend7.weekend> [September 3, 2010]
- Johnston, L. D. (1985) 'Techniques for reducing measurement error in surveys of drug use'. In *Studying Drug Abuse*. ed. by Robins, L. N. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press
- Johnson, D. W. and Johnson, R. T. (1999) *Creative controversy: intellectual conflict in the classroom*. (3rd edn.). Edina, MN: Interaction Book Company.
- Johnson, D. W. and Johnson, R. T. (2005) *Teaching students to be peacemakers* (4th edn.). Edina, MN: Interaction Book Company.
- Johnson, D. W., Johnson, R. T. and Dudley, B. (1992) 'Effect of peer-mediation training on elementary students'. *Mediation Quarterly* 10 (1), 89–99.
- Johnson, D. W., Johnson, R. T. and Tjosvold, D. (2000) 'Constructive Controversy, the Value of Intellectual Opposition'. In *The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice*. ed. by Deutsch, M. and Peter, C. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.
- Johnson, D. and Sampson, C. (eds.) (1994) *Religion: The missing dimension of statecraft*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jørgensen, M. and Phillips, L. (2002) *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. London: Sage.
- Kadushin, C. and Livert, D. (2002) 'Friendship, contact and peace education'. In *Peace Education: The Concept, Principles and Practices Around the World*. ed. by Salomon, G. and Nevo, B. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Kaldor, M. (1996) 'A Cosmopolitan Response to New Wars'. *Peace Review* 8 (4), 505–514.
- Kaldor, M. (2005) 'Elaborating the 'New War' Thesis'. In *Rethinking the Nature of War*. ed. by Duyvesteyn, I. and Angstrom, J. New York: Frank Cass.
- Kaldor, M. (2001) *New and Old Wars: organized crime in a global era*. Oxford: Polity Press.

- Kant, E. (1991) 'Perpetual Peace'. In *Kant Political writings*. ed. by Reiss, H. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kareem, H. (2008) *Domestic Violence a fieldwork in the city of Erbil*. Erbil, KRG: Ministry of culture press.
- Kasey, M. (1983) *Youth Education in Iraq and Egypt, 1920-1980: A Contribution to Comparative Education within the Arab Region*. Leuven: Helicon.
- Kester, K. (2008) 'Developing peace education programs: Beyond ethnocentrism and violence'. *Journal of South Asian Peace Building* 1 (1), 37–64.
- Kester, K. (2010) 'Education for Peace: Content, Form, and Structure: Mobilizing Youth for Civic Engagement'. *Peace and Conflict Review* 4 (2), 1-10.
- Khaizaran, H. (2007) 'Traditions of Moral Education in Iraq'. *Journal of Moral Education* 36 (3), 321-332.
- Kirmanj, S. (2014) 'Kurdish History Textbooks: Building a Nation-State within a Nation-State'. *Middle East Journal* 68 (3), 367-384.
- Kleven, T. A. (2008) *Validity and validation in qualitative and quantitative research*. Norway: Nordic Educational research (Nordisk Pedagogik).
- Kornadt, H. (1992) *Aggression and Frustration as a Psychological Problem*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Krostelina, K. V. and Lassig, S. (eds.) (2013) *History Education and Post Conflict Reconciliation, Reconsidering Joint textbook projects*. Routledge Studies in Peace and Conflict Resolution.
- Kupermintz, H. and Salomon, G. (2005) 'Lessons to be learned from research on peace education in the context of intractable conflict'. *Theory into Practice* 44 (4), 293–302.
- Kurdistan Save the Children (KSC). (2007) 'Survey report on child labourers in IK'. Sulaimaniyah, KRG: Document of Kurdistan Save the Children Archive.
- Kvale, S. (1995) 'The social construction of validity'. *Qualitative Inquiry* 1 (1), 19-40.
- Lacey, M. (May 28 2003) 'After the War: Education, the schools in Basra Expel "Papa Saddam"'. *The New York Times*.
- Laclau, E. and Mouffe, C. (1985, 2001) *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy. Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*. London: Verso.
- Lannert, V. (2003) *Education for peace: Concepts, contexts, and challenges*. Westport CT: Praeger.
- Lederach, J. P. (1995b) *Preparing for peace*. Syracuse: Syracuse University.

- Leezenberg, M. (2005) 'Iraqi Kurdistan: contours of a post-civil war society'. *Third World Quarterly* 26 (4-5), 631 -647.
- Leirvik, O. (2004) 'Religion Education, Communal Identity and National Politics in the Muslims World'. *British Journal of Religious Education* 26 (3), 223-236.
- Lester, E. (2011) *Teaching about Religious: A Democratic Approach for public schools*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Levine, D. H. and Bishai, L. S. (2010) 'Civic Education and Peacebuilding Examples from Iraq and Sudan'. Special report 254. United States Institute of Peace (USIP).
- Lévi-Strauss, C. (1984) 'The story of Asdiwal'. In *Sacred Narrative: readings in the theory of myth*. ed. by Dundes, A. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lin, J., Brantmeier, E. J. and Christa, B. (eds.) (2008) *Transforming Education for Peace. A volume in Peace Education*. Information Age Publishing.
- Lisovskaya, E. and Karpov, V. (1999) 'New Ideologies in Post-communist Russian Textbooks'. *Comparative Education Review* 43 (4), 522-541.
- Litvak-Hirsch, T. L. (2006) 'The use of stories as a tool for intervention and research in the arena of peace education in conflict areas: The Israeli-Palestinian story'. *Journal of Peace Education* 3 (2), 251-271.
- Lofland, J. and Lofland, L. H. (1984) *Analyzing Social Settings. A guide to Qualitative observation and analysis*. (2nd edn.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Lopes Cardozo, M. (2008) 'Sri Lanka: in peace or in pieces? A Critical Approach to Peace Education in Sri Lanka'. *Research in Comparative and International Education* 3 (1), 19-35.
- Lortz, M. G. (2005) *Willing to Face Death: A History Of Kurdish Military Forces The Peshmerga - From The Ottoman Empire to Present-Day Iraq*. Florida, USA: Florida State University.
- Lowicki-Zucca, L. and Emry, M. (eds.) (2005) *Educating Young People in Emergencies time to end the neglect: ID21 insights*. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex.
- Lowicki-Zucca, M., Spiegel, P. and Ciantia, F. (2005) 'AIDS, conflict and the media in Africa: Risks in reporting bad data badly'. *Emerging Themes in Epidemiology* 2 (12).
- Lukes, S. (1974) *Power: A Radical View*. London: The MacMillan Press Ltd.
- Lukitz, L. (1995) *Iraq: the search for national identity*. London: Frank Cass.

- Lund, M. (1996) *Preventing Violent Conflicts: A Strategy for Preventive Diplomacy*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Lund, T. (2005) 'The qualitative-quantitative distinction: Some comments'. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research* 49 (2), 115-132.
- Lundy, L. (2007) 'Voice is not enough: conceptualising Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child'. *British Education Research Journal* 33 (6), 927-942.
- Lynch, K. and Lodge, A. (2002) *Equality and Power in Schools: Redistribution, Recognition and Representation*. London: Routledge.
- Lyseight-Jones, P. (1991) Human Rights in Primary Education. In *The Challenge of Human Rights Education*. ed. by Starkey, H. London: Cassell, 73-89.
- Machel, G. (1996) *Impact of armed conflict on children*. New York: UNICEF.
- Machel, G. (2001) *The impact of war on children*. London: Hurst and Company.
- Mac Ginty, R. (2008) 'Indigenous Peace-Making Versus the Liberal Peace'. Cooperation and Conflict: *Journal of the Nordic International Studies Association*, 42 (2), 139-163.
- Mack, J. E. (1990) 'The Enemy System'. In *The Psycho-dynamics of International Relationships Vol. I. Concepts and Theories*. ed. by Volkan, V. D., Demetrios, A. J. and Montville, J. V. Lexington MA: Lexington Books, 57-69.
- Magendzo, A. (1994) 'Tensions and Dilemmas about Education in Human Rights in Democracy'. *Journal of Moral Education* 32 (3), 251-259.
- Makdisi, G. (1981) *The rise of college, institutional of learning in Islam and the West*. Edinburgh.
- Manara Network for Child Rights (2011) 'Country Profile of Iraq – A Review of the Implementation of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child'. Sweden, Regional Office for the Middle East and North Africa: Save the Children.
- Maoz, I. (2004) 'Peace-Building in Violent Conflict: Israel-Palestinian in post-Oslo people-to-people activities'. *International Journal of Politics Culture Society* 17 (3).
- Marx, K. and Engels, F. (1967) *The German Ideology*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Mason, J. (2004, 2002) *Qualitative Researching*. (2nd edn.). London: Sage Publications.
- Maxwell, A., Penny, E. and Maxwell, T. (2004) 'Educating for peace in the midst of violence: a South African experience'. *Journal of Peace Education* 1 (1), 103–121.

- May, T. (2002). Introduction: Transformation in Principles and Practice. In *Qualitative Research in Action*. ed. by May, T. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage.
- McCauley, C. (2002) 'Head First Versus Feet First in Peace Education'. In *Peace Education: the Concept, Principles, and Practices Around the World*. ed. by Salomon, G. and Nevo, B. London: Sage Publications, 247–259.
- McDowall, D. (1997, 2000) *A modern history of the Kurds*. (2nd edn.). London: I. B. Tauris.
- Mcglynn, C., Zembylas, M., Bekerman, Z. and Gallagher, T. (2009) *Peace Education in Conflict and Post-Conflict Societies*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- McLaren, P. (1989) *Life in schools. An introduction to critical pedagogy in the foundation of education*. USA: Longman.
- McNay, L. (2000) *Gender and Agency: Reconfiguring the Subject in Feminist and Social Theory*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Mehdi, A. and Shlash, A. (2008) 'National Report on the Status of Human Development in Iraq 2008'. Ministry of Planning and Development Cooperation and Baytal Hikma.
- Merriam, S. B. (2002) 'Assessing and evaluating qualitative research'. In *Qualitative research in practice: Examples for discussion and analysis*. ed. by Merriam, S. B. and Associates. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 18-39.
- Mezirow, J. (2000) *Learning as Transformation. Critical Perspectives on a Theory in Progress*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Mezirow, J. (1991) *Transformative Dimensions of Adult Learning*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Mezirow, J. (2009) 'Transformative Learning Theory'. In *Transformative Learning in Practice: Insights from Community Workplace and Higher Education*. ed. by Mezirow, J. E. Taylor, W. and Associates. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 18-31.
- Mezirow, J., Taylor, E. W. and Associates (2009) *Transformative Learning in Practice: Insights from Community, Workplace and Higher Education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Miall, H. (2007) *Emergent Conflict and Peaceful Change*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Miall, H., Ramsbotham, O. and Woodhouse, T. (1999) *Contemporary Conflict Resolution: The Prevention, Management and Transformation of Deadly Conflicts*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Mirza, I. M. (2007) *Democratization in Southern Kurdistan*. Tromsø, Norway: University of Tromsø, Master thesis.

- Mische, P. M. (1991) 'The Earth as Peace Teacher'. In *Peace Culture and Society Transnational Research and Dialogue*. ed. by Boulding, E. Clovis, B. and Kevin, C. San Francisco, Oxford: Westview Press Boulder.
- Misgeld, D. (1994) 'Human Rights and Education: conclusions from some Latin American experiences'. *Journal of Moral Education* 32 (3), 239-250.
- Mohammed, M. (2009) *Combating Physical Violence Against Women in Iraqi Kurdistan The Contribution of Local Women's Organization*. MA. Tromso University. Centre for Peace and Conflict Transformation. Germany: Lambert.
- Montessori, M. (1949) *Education and peace*. Chicago, IL: Henry Regerny.
- Montessori, M. (1972) *The Discovery of the Child*. New York: Ballantine Books.
- Moore, D. L. (2007) *Overcoming Religious Illiteracy: A Cultural Studies Approaches to the study of Religion in Secondary Education*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Moore, T. and Peters, R. S. (1982, 1986) *Philosophy of Education: An Introduction*. London: Routledge and Keagan Paul.
- Msila, V. (2007) 'From apartheid education to the Revised National Curriculum Statement: Pedagogy for identity formation and nation building in South Africa'. *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 16 (2), 146-160.
- Mukhopadhyay, M. (2005) *Peace Education: Framework for Teacher Education*. UNESCO.
- Muller, M. and Linzey, S. (2007) *The Internationally Displaced Kurds of Turkey: Ongoing Issues of Responsibility, Redress and Resettlement*. London: Human Rights Committee of England and Wales.
- Muntarbhorn, V. (1998) 'Education for human rights'. In *Human Rights: New dimensions and challenges*. ed. by Symonides, J., Dartmouth: Ashgate, 281-301.
- Narayan, U. (1997) *Dislocating Cultures Identities, Traditions and Third World Feminism*. New York: Routledge.
- Nele, N. (2008) 'Hope for Peace Against All Odds'. In *Transforming Education for Peace*. ed. by Lin, J. E., Brantmeier, J. and Bruhn, C. Charlotte, North Carolina: Information Age Publishing.
- Nussbaum, M. (2006) *Frontiers of Justices: Disabilities, Nationality, Spaces Membership*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- O'Balance, E. (1996) *The Kurdish Struggle 1920-94*. Hampshire and London: MacMillan Press Ltd.

- Obama, B. (2009, January 20) 'Barack Obama Inaugural Address'. January 20, 2009. [online] available from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MjUTymL1T5s> and feature=related [November 10, 2009].
- Öberg, M. and Sollenberg, M. (2011) 'Gathering Information Using News Resources'. In *Understanding Peace Research: Methods and Challenges*. ed. by Kristine, H. K. and Öberg, M. London: Routledge.
- Olssen, M., O'Neill, A. M. and Codd, J. A. (2004) *Education policy: Globalization, citizenship and democracy*. London: Sage Publications.
- Olweus, D. (1978) *Aggression in the School: bullies and whipping boys*. Washington: Hemisphere Publication.
- O'Malley, B. (9 November 2008) 'Iraq: Killing Academics Is a War Crime'. University World News.
- Osler, A. and Starkey, H. (1996) *Teacher Education and Human Rights*. London: David Fulton.
- Osseiran, S. (1996) 'Peace education as a protest and resistance against marginalization and eurocentrism: Peace education in a violence context: The Middle East wars as a case study'. In *Three decades of peace education around the world: An anthology*. ed. by Burns, R. and Aspeslagh, R. New York: Garland.
- Ottaway, M., Carothers, T., Hawthorne, A. and Brumberg, D. (2002) 'Democratic Mirage in the Middle East'. Policy Brief. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Oxfam, G. (30 July 2007). 'Rising to the Humanitarian Challenge in Iraq'. Briefing Paper No. 105. Oxfam Report on Humanitarian Situation in Iraq.
- Page, J. (2008) *Peace Education: Exploring Ethical and Philosophical Foundations*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing Inc.
- Page, J. (2004) 'Peace Education: Exploring some philosophical foundations'. *International Review of Education* 50 (1).
- PAO. (2012-2013) 'Evaluation of Human Right Education Survey'. Sulaimaniyah, KRG: People Aid Organisation.
- Parault, S., Davis, H. A. and Pellegrini, A. D. (2007) 'The social context of bullying and victimization'. *The journal of Early Adolescence* 27, 145-174.
- Pasha, A. (2003) *Iraq: Sanctions and Wars*. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers.
- PDA. (2008-2009, 2007-2008, 2009-2010, 2012-2013) 'Evaluation of Human Right Education'. Sulaimaniyah, KRG: People Development Association. PDA archive.

- Peterson, A. C. (2003) *Schools Across Frontiers: The story of the International Baccalaureate and the United World Colleges*. (2nd edn.). London: Open Court Publishing.
- Petroska-Beska, V. (2000) 'Peace education as a framework for changes in the overall education system'. [online] available from <http://construct.haifa.ac.il/~cerpe/papers/petroska.html> [November 12, 2011].
- Piaget, J. (1965) *The moral judgment of the child*. New York: The Free Press.
- Pingel, F. (2009) 'From Ownership to Intervention- or Vice Versa? Textbook Revision in Bosnia and Herzegovina'. In *Transition and the Politics of History Education in South-eastern Europe*. ed. by Dimou, A. Gottingen, 251- 305.
- Pirani, S. (1999, April 2) Teachers confront Rise in Extremism Briefing International. *The Times Educational Supplement*, p. 17.
- Pitts, D. (2002) Human rights education in diverse, developing nations: A case in point – South Africa. *Issues of Democracy*, 7.
- Polkinghorne, D. (2005) 'Narrative Psychology and Historical Consciousness: Relationships and Perspectives'. In *Making Sense of History - Narration, Identity and Historical Consciousness*. ed. by Straub, J. United States: Berghahn Books, 3-22.
- Porath, B. R. (2003) 'War and Peace Education'. *Journal of Philosophy of Education* 37 (3), 525–533.
- Posen, B. R. (1993) 'Nationalism, the Mass Army, and Military Power'. *International Security* 18 (2), 80-124.
- Powell, J. (2002) 'Transforming Lives. In *Spirit of the Nation*'. ed. by Asmal, K. and Wilmot, J. South Africa, Human Sciences Research Council and the Department of Education, 112-138.
- Prewitt, A. R. (2008) 'A study of Georgia's hidden curriculum: Institutional discrimination in the eighth grade'. Dissertation Abstracts International. *The Humanities and Social Sciences* 69 (6).
- Pshdary, K. M., Ahmed, M. B., Khether, M. K. and Taha, M. H. (2010) *The Grade eight social studies textbooks, History Education textbook section*. (1st edn.). Erbil, KRG: Ministry of Education, General Directorate of Curriculum and Publication.
- Punamäki, R. L. (1999) 'Concept Formation of War and Peace: Between Child Development and a Politically Violent Society'. In *How Children Understand War and Peace: A Call for International Peace Education*. ed. by Raviv, L. O. and Bartal, D. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

- Rafaat, A. (2007) 'An Independent Kurdish State: Achievable or Merely a Kurdish Dream?'. *Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies* 32 (3), 267-304.
- Ragland, D. (2014) 'Betty Reardon's philosophy of peace education and the centrality of justice'. *Journal of Peace Education* 1-19.
- Rahman, F. (1982) *Islam and Modernity: Transformation of an intellectual tradition*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Rakesh, K. R. and Prakash, C. J. (2009) 'The Decline of Educational System in Iraq'. *Journal of Peace Studies* 16: 1-2.
- Ramsbotham, O. (2005) 'The Analysis of Protracted Social Conflict: A Tribute to Edward Azar'. *Review of International Studies* 31: 109-126.
- Reardon, B. (1988) *Comprehensive Peace Education*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Reardon, B. (2011) 'Concerns Cautions and possibilities for Peace Education for political efficacy'. In *Critical Peace Education: difficult Dialogue*. ed. by Wright, B. and Trifonas, P. London: Springer, 1-28.
- Reardon, B. (2001) 'Educating for a Culture of Peace in a Gender Perspective'. Paris: UNESCO.
- Reardon, B. (1995) *Educating for Human Dignity: Learning about Rights and Responsibilities*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Reardon, B. (1997) 'Human Rights as education for peace'. In *Human Rights education for the twenty-first century*. ed. by Andreopoulos, G. J and Claude, R. P. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 436-454.
- Reardon, B. (1982) *Militarization, Security, and Peace Education: A Guide for Concerned Citizens*. Valley Forge, PA: United Ministries in Education.
- Reardon, B. (1999) *Peace Education: A Review and Projection*. *Peace Education Reports*. Sweden Research, Malmo University: Malmo, Department of Educational and Psychological .
- Reardon, B. and Cabezudo, A. (2002) *Learning to Abolish War*. New York: Hague Appeal for Peace.
- Richmond, O. (2007) *The Transformation of Peace*. London: Palgrave Mcmillan.
- Riessman, C. K. (1993) *Narrative Analysis*. London: Sage Publications.
- Ringdal, K. (2007) *Unit and Diversity: Social scientific research and quantitative [Enhet og Mangfold: Samfunnsvitenskapelig forskning og kvantitativ metode]*. (2nd Ed). Bergen: Fagbokforlaget Vigmostad and Bjørke AS.

- Rita, H., Doug, B. and Bindu, P. (2005) 'Teratogenicity of Depleted Uranium Aerosols: A review from an Epidemiological Perspective'. *Environmental Health: A Global Access Science Source*. [online] available October 1, 2012, from <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/16124873>
- Robson, C. (1993) *Real World Research*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Rohde, A. (2013) 'Change and continuity in Arabs Iraqi Education: Sunni and Shi'i Discourses in Iraqi textbooks before and after 2003'. *Comparative education review* 57 (4), 711-734.
- Rohrs, H. (1994) *The Pedagogy of Peace as a Central Element in Peace Studies. A Critical Review and an Outlook on the Future*. Malmo: School of Education, Lund University.
- Romanowski, M. H. (1996) 'Problems of bias in history textbooks'. *Social Education* 60: 170-173.
- Ross, A. (2000) *Curriculum Construction and Critique*. London: Falmer Press.
- Rouhana, N. and Bar-Tal, D. (1998) 'Psychological Dynamics of Intractable Ethnonational Conflicts: The Israeli-Palestinian Case'. *American Psychologist* 53: 761-770.
- Roy, D. A. (1993) 'The Educational System of Iraq'. *Middle Eastern Studies* 29 (2), 167-197.
- Rubin, H. and Rubin, I. S. (2005) *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data*. (2nd edn.). London: Sage Publications.
- Rubin, J. Z. (1997) 'Western Perspectives on Conflict Resolution'. In *Conflict Resolution in the Arab World: Selected Essays*. ed. by Salem, P. Lebanon: American University of Beirut, 3-10.
- Rubin, M. (2002) 'Interview: Abdulaziz Ta'ib Ahmed - Minister of Education, Kurdistan Regional Government in Irbil, northern Iraq'. *Middle East Intelligence Bulletin* 4 (1).
- Rubin, M. (2008) 'Is Iraqi Kurdistan a Good Ally? AEI Online's Middle Eastern Outlook'. [online] available from <http://www.meforum.org/1822/is-iraqikurdistan-kurdistan-a-good-ally> [October 26, 2011].
- Said, E. (1978) *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books
- Saleem, A. (2009) *Islam and Education: Conflict and Conformity in Pakistan and Beyond*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Salih, K. (2004) 'Kurdish Reality in an Emerging Iraq'. *Middle East Policy* 11 (1), 122-125.

- Salomon, G. (2004) 'Comment: What is peace education?'. *Journal of Peace Education* 1: 20–27.
- Salomon, G. (2006) 'Does peace education really make a difference?'. *Journal of Peace Psychology* 12 (1), 37–48.
- Salomon, G. (2002) 'The nature of peace education: Not all programs are created equal'. In *Peace Education: The Concept, Principles and Practices Around the World*. ed. by Salomon, G. and Nevo, B. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 3–13.
- Salomon, G. and Kupermintz, H. (2002) '*The Evaluation of Peace Education Programmes: Main Considerations and Criteria*'. Israel: The Centre for Research on Peace Education, University of Haifa.
- Salomon, G. and Nevo, B. (eds.) (2002) *Peace Education: The Concept, Principles and Practices Around the World*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Salomon, G. and Nevo, B. (1999) *Peace Education: an active field in need for research*. Israel: University of Haifa.
- Salomon, G. and Nevo, B. (2003) 'The Dilemmas of Peace Education in Intractable Conflicts'. *Palestine-Israel Journal* 8 (3).
- Saltman, K. J. (2006) 'Creative Associates International: Corporate Education and 'Democracy Promotion' in Iraq'. *The Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies* 28 (1), 25–65.
- Sameer, A. (2002) 'About Political Islam'. *The Way Magazine* 5 (61).
- Sassoon, J. (2012) *Saddam Hussein's Ba'ath Party: Inside an Authoritarian Regime*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Sayed, F. (2010) The contested Terrain of educational reform in Egypt. In *Education and the Arab World, Political projects, struggle and Geometries of Power*. World Yearbook of 2010. ed. by Mazawi, A. E. and Sultana, R. G. New York: Routledge.
- Schell-Faucon, S. (2001) '*Conflict Transformation Through Educational and Youth Programmes*'. Berlin: Berghof Research Centre for Constructive Conflict Management.
- Schramm, W. (1971) '*Notes on case studies for instructional media projects*'. Washington DC: Working paper for Academy of Educational Development.
- Sean, K. (2010) 'Iraq's Oil Politics, where agreement might be found'. Peace works No. 64. United States Institute of Peace Publication.
- Seaver, B. M. (2000) 'The regional sources of power-sharing failure: The case of Lebanon'. *Political Science Quarterly* 115 (2), 247–272.

- Sefa-Dei, G. (1997) *Anti-Racism Education and Practice*. Halifax: Fernwood.
- Seitz, K. (2004) 'Education and Conflict: The role of education in the creation, prevention and resolution of societal crises – consequences for development cooperation'. GTZ (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit).
- Selby, D. (2000) 'A darker shade of green: The importance of ecological thinking in global education and school reform'. *Theory into Practice* 39 (2), 88–96.
- Senehi, J. (2000) 'Constructive Storytelling in Intercommunal Conflicts: Building Community, Building Peace'. In *Reconcilable Differences: Turning Points in Ethno-Political Conflict*. ed. by Byrne, S. and Cynthia, I. West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press.
- Sengupta, K. (2009) 'Iraq air raids hit mostly women and children'. [online] available from <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/iraq-air-raids-hit-mostly-women-and-children-1669282.html> [October 1, 2012].
- Shabban, A. H. (2011) *Tolerance Jurisprudence in Arabs Islamic thinking. Culture, and State [Fikh altasamuh fee alfikr alarabi alislami]*. Erbil, Kurdistan Regional Government: Araz house publisher.
- Shadi, A. (2002) *The religious discourses and international conflicts [alkhitab Aldini wa alsirat aldawlia]*. Amana alama of Arabic state.
- Shapiro, S. B. (2002) 'The commonality of the body: Pedagogy and peace culture'. In *Peace Education: The Concept, Principles and Practices around the World*. ed. by Salomon, G. and Nevo, B. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 143–154.
- Sharef, H. A. (2-3 of April 2007). 'The challenges faces changing the Islamic curriculum in the Islamic world. Islam and the Contemporary Challenges'. Conference held in the Islamic university in Saudi Arabia: Paper presented in the conference of Islam and the Contemporary Challenges.
- Sharp, G. (1973) *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*. Boston: Porter Sargent.
- Shawkat, S. (1939) *These are our national aims: those who believe in them are on our side [Hathihi ahdafona: man amena biha fa huwa mina]*. Baghdad: Publisher not shown.
- Shor, I. (1993) 'Education is Politics: Paulo Freire's Critical Pedagogy'. In *Paulo Freire: a Critical Encounter*. ed. by McLaren, P. and Leonard, P. London, New York: Routledge.
- Siddique, Q. (2009) 'Weapons of mass instruction? A preliminary exploration of the link between madrassas in Pakistan and militancy'. Norway: Forsvarets forsknings institutt/ Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI). FFI-rapport 2008/02326 1067.

- Silverman, D. (2005, 2000) *Doing Qualitative Research – A Practical Handbook*. (2nd edn.). London: Sage Publications.
- Sime, L. (1994) 'Challenges to Popular and Human Rights Education: the formation of producer, citizen and person'. *Journal of Moral Education* 23 (3), 305-314.
- Simon, R. S. (2004) *Iraq Between the Two World Wars, The Militarist Origins of the Tyranny*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Simpson, K. (2004) 'Making Connections: Wholistic Teaching through Peace Education'. *Canadian Social Studies* 38 (3).
- Slattery, P. (2006) *Curriculum Development in the Postmodern Era*. (2nd edn.). New York: Routledge.
- Sluglett, P. (2007) *Britain in Iraq: Contriving King and Country*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Sluglett, P. (1976) *Britain in Iraq 1914 – 1932*. London: Ithaca Press.
- Smith, A. (1999) 'Education and the Peace Process in Northern Ireland'. Montreal: Paper presented to the Annual Conference of the American Education Research Association Montreal.
- Smith, A. (2005) 'Education in the twenty-first century: Conflict resolution and reconciliation'. *Journal of Comparative Education* 35 (4), 373-391.
- Smith, A. and Vaux, T. (2003) *Education, Conflict and International Development*. London: Department for International Development (DFID).
- Smith, L. T. (2005) 'On tricky ground: researching the native in the age of uncertainty'. In *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*. (3rd. edn.) ed. by Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Inc, 85-107.
- Sommerfelt, H. O. and Vambheim, V. (2008) 'The Dream of the Good: A peace education project exploring the potential to educate for peace at the individual level'. *Journal of Peace Education* 5 (1), 79–96.
- Sommers, M. (2001) 'Peace Education and Refugee Youth'. In *Learning for a Future: Refugee Education in Developing Countries*. ed. by Crisp, J. Talbot, C. and Cipollone, D. B. Geneva: UNHCR.
- Sommers, M. (2001) *UNHCR and Refugee Education in Developing Countries: Policy and Practice*. Washington. D.C: UNHCR.
- Spodek, B. (ed.) (1993) *Handbook of research on the education of young children*. New York: Macmillan.

- Spodek, B. and Brown, P. C. (1993) 'Curriculum alternatives in early childhood education'. In *Handbook of research on the education of young children*. ed. by Spodek, B. New York: Macmillan, 91–104.
- Spradley, J. (1980) *Participant Observation*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Stansfield, G. (2003) *Iraqi Kurdistan: Political Development and Emergent Democracy*. London: Routledge Curzon.
- Stansfield, G. (2006) 'Kurdistan-Iraq: Can the Unified Regional Government Work?'. *Arab Reform Bulletin, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace* 4 (5).
- Stansfield, G. (2004) 'The Transition to Democracy in Iraq: Historical Legacies, Resurgent Identities and Reactionary Tendencies'. In *The Iraq War and Democratic Politics*. ed. by Danchev, A. and Macmillan, J. London: Routledge, 134-159.
- Stansfield, G. (2013) 'The unravelling of the post-First World War state system? The Kurdistan Region of Iraq and the transformation of the Middle East'. *International Affairs* 89 (2), 259–282.
- Staub, E. (2002) 'From healing past wounds to the development of inclusive caring: contents and processes of peace education'. In *Peace Education: The Concept, Principles, and Practices around the World*. ed. by Salomon, G. and Nevo, B. New York: Lawrence Erlbaum, 73–88.
- Stephens, D. and Harber, C. (2009) *From shouters to supporters: Quality Education Project - final evaluation report Save the Children Norway*. Oslo, Norway: Save the Children Norway.
- Stomfay-Stitz, M. (1995) 'First Steps in Early Childhood Peace'. In *Peace Education and Human Development*. ed. by Löfgren, H. Sweden: Malmö.
- Suleyman, I. (2005) 'The Problem of Federalism in Iraq and the Problem of Iraq in Federalism'. Alkader. [online] available from <http://www.alkader.net> [December 11, 2013].
- Sullivan, K., Cleary, M. and Sullivan, G. (2004) *Bullying in Secondary School*. London: Sage Publication.
- Suri, K. (2013) 'Establishing Peace Through Peace Education in The Schools of Conflict-Hit Jammu And Kashmir'. *Global Academic Research Journal* 1 (2), 40-46.
- Surkes, S. (1997, April 11) 'Hostile Stereotypes Persist despite the peace process'. *Times Educational Supplement*, p. 4.
- Surkes, S. (1996, January 26) 'Textbooks Keep the Old Hostilities Alive'. *Times Educational Supplement*, p. 16.

- Surya, N. P. (2008) 'Access to Peace Education'. In *Encyclopedia of Peace Education*. ed. by Bajaj, M. Columbia: Teachers College, Columbia University.
- Tal-Or, N., Boninger, D. and Gleicher, F. (2002) 'Understanding the conditions and processes necessary for intergroup contact to reduce prejudice'. In *Peace Education: The Concept, Principles and Practices Around the World*. ed. by Salomon, G. and Nevo, B., Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 89–107.
- Tareq, I. and Haddad, W. W. (eds.) (2004) *Iraq: The Human Cost of History*. London: Pluto Press.
- Tarrow, N. (1992) 'Human Rights Education: Alternative Conceptions'. In *Human Rights, Education and Global Responsibilities: Cultural Diversity and the Schools: Volume. 4*. ed. by Lynch, J. Modgil, C. and Modgil, S., London: Falmer Press, 21–50.
- Tawil, S. and Harley, A. (2004) Education and Identity-based Conflict: Assessing curriculum policy for social and civic reconstruction. In *Education, conflict and social cohesion*. ed. by Tawil, S. and Harley, A. Geneva: UNESCO.
- Taylor, E. (2009) 'Fostering Transformative Learning'. In *Transformative Learning in Practice: Insights from Community, Workplace and Higher Education*. ed. by Mezirow, J. Taylor, E. W. and Associates. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 3–17.
- Thelin, B. (1993) 'Education for global survival'. In *Peace Education: Global Perspectives*. ed. by Bjerstedt, A. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 94–110.
- Tidwell, A. (2004) 'Conflict, peace and education: A tangled web'. *Conflict Resolution Quarterly* 21, 463–470.
- Tierney, J. (2003, October 5) 'Word for word/ Hussein-Era Textbooks: see Jane Run from the Zionist Intruders'. Week in Review. The New York Times.
- Tikiriti, N. (2010) 'War, State Collapse and the predicament of Education in Iraq'. In *Education and the Arab World: Political Project, Struggles and Geometries of power*. ed. by Mazawi, A. E. and Sultana, R. G. London: Routledge.
- Toh, S. H. (2004) 'Education for international understanding toward a culture of peace: A conceptual framework'. In *Education for International Understanding Toward a Culture of Peace: Teachers Resource Book*. ed. by Cawagas, V. F. Seoul, South Korea: Asia-Pacific. Centre of Education for International Understanding.
- Toh, S. and Cawagas, V. F. (1991) *Peaceful theory and practice in values education*. Quezon: Phoenix Publishing House.
- Tonstad, K. M. (2007) *Child Protection in War-zone Iraq: Recommendations for Policy and Practice*. Submitted to: Patrizia diGiovanni Child Protection Officer. Iraq: UNICEF.

- Torres, C. A. (2006) 'Conclusion: the Struggle for Democratic Education in the Arab world'. In *culture of Arab schooling, critical ethnographies from Egypt*. ed. by Herrera, L. and Torres, C. A. New York: State university of New York press, 179-96.
- Tosh, J. (2010) *The pursuit of history: aims, methods, and new directions in the study of modern history* (5th edn.). New York: Longman/Pearson.
- Tripp, C (2000, 2007) *A History of Iraq*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- UNAMI Human Rights Report (2010) 'Report on Human Rights in Iraq'. Baghdad: UNAMI Human Rights Office/OHCHR.
- UNESCO (1995) 'Declaration and integrated framework of action and education for peace, human rights, and democracy'. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO (1999, 2000) 'Education for All Forum (EFA)'. The EFA year 2000 assessment. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO (2011) 'Education for All, Global Monitoring Report'. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO (2003a) 'Situation analysis of Education in Iraq 2003'. Paris: Division of Educational policies and Strategies.
- UNESCO (2007) 'Stopping Violence in Schools What Works?'. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO (2003b) 'Textbooks Revision Details'. Amman: UNESCO.
- UNESCO (1981) *Yearbook on Peace and Conflict Studies*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- UNHCR (2008) 'Convention on the Right of the Child'. UNHCHR. [online] available from <http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/25.htm> November 12, 2011].
- UNICEF (2010) 'Girls's Education in Iraq. A situational analysis'. [online] available from http://www.ungei.org/resources/files/full_report_iraq_2010.pdf [February 11, 2012].
- UNICEF (1999, August 12) 'Iraq Press Room: Iraq Surveys show humanitarian emergency'. Information Newline. [online] available from <http://www.unicef.org/newsline/99pr29.htm> [October 12, 2013]
- UNICEF (2004) 'Iraqi Schools Suffering from Neglects and war'. Amman/ Geneva. [online] available from http://www.unicef.org/media/media_23630.html [October 1, 2011].
- UNICEF (2007) 'Promoting the Rights of Children in Iraq. Rekindling Hope in a time of Crisis'. A Situation Analysis. [online] available from http://www.unicef.org/sitan/files/Iraq_SitAn_2007_Eng.pdf [November 2, 2011].

- UNICEF Sri-Lanka (1996) 'Education for Conflict resolution project: Final progress report to the UK'. Committee for UNICEF; Colombo: Ministry of Education and Higher Education/UNICEF.
- UNICEF, Croatia (1997) 'School based health and peace initiative: Trauma healing and peaceful problem solving programme for Primary schools in Western and eastern Slovenia: Evaluation Report Zagreb'. Croatia: Croatian Ministry of Education and sports/UNICEF/CARE/McMaster University.
- United Nation (2009) 'Machel Study 10-Year Strategic Review Children and Conflict in a Changing World'. United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF).
- United Nations (1998) 'Culture of Peace (A/Res/52/13, 15 January 1998, paragraph 2)'. [online] available from http://www3.unesco.org/iyep/uk/uk_sum_refdoc.htm [January 13, 2011].
- Valverde, G. A. (2005) 'Curriculum Policy seen through High-Stakes Examinations: Mathematics and Biology in a Selection of School-leaving Examinations from the Middle East and North Africa'. *Peabody Journal of Education* 80 (1), 29-55.
- Van Bruinessen, M. (1992) *Agha, Shaikh and State: The Social and Political Structures of Kurdistan*. London, New Jersey: Zed Books.
- Van Leeuwen, T. (2008) *Discourse and practice: New tools for critical discourse analysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Van Leeuwen, T. (1996) 'The representation of social actors in discourse'. In *Texts and practices: Readings in critical discourse analysis*. ed. by Caldas-Coulthard, C. R. and Coulthard, M. London: Routledge, 32-70.
- VanDijk, T. A. (2001) 'Critical Discourse Analysis'. In *The handbook of discourse analysis* ed. by Schiffrin, D. Tanne, P. and Hamilton, H. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 352-371.
- VanDijk, T. A. (1998) *Ideology: A multidisciplinary study*. London: Sage.
- Visser, R. (2010) *Basra the Federal Gulf State: Separatism and Nationalism in southern Iraq*. Berlin: LitVerlag.
- Vongalis-Macrow, A. (2007) 'I, Teacher: re-territorialization of teachers' multi-faceted agency in globalized education'. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 28 (4), 425-439.
- Vongalis-Macrow, A. (2006) 'Rebuilding Regimes or Rebuilding Community? Teachers' Agency for Social Reconstruction in Iraq'. *Journal of Peace Education* 3 (1), 99-113.

- Vriens, L. (1990) 'A Reappraisal of Values and Options'. In *Education for Peace in the Nineties (a conference report)*. ed. by Bjerstedt, A. Sweden: Malmö, Lund University.
- Vriens, L. (1999) 'Children, war, and peace: a review of fifty years of research from the perspective of a balanced concept of peace education'. In *How Children Understand War and Peace*. ed. by Raviv, A. Oppenheimer, L. and Bar-Tal, D. San Francisco CA: Jossey-Bass, 27–58.
- Wang, T. (2005) 'Rewriting the Textbooks: Education Policy in Post-Hussein Iraq'. *Harvard International Review* 26 (4).
- Watenpugh, K. (2004, September-October). Between Saddam and the American Occupation: Iraq's Academic Community Struggles for Autonomy. *American Association of University Professors* 90 (5).
- Weigert, K. M. (1989) 'Peace Studies as Education for Nonviolent Social Change'. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 504: 37–47.
- Weldon, G. (2010) 'Post-conflict teacher development: facing the past in South Africa'. *Journal of Moral Education* 39 (3), 353-364.
- White, R. D. (1980) 'Education in bourgeois society: A matter of common sense'. *Interchange* 11: 47-59.
- Whitty, G. (1981) *The Politics of Cultural Reproduction. Prepared for the Society, Education and the State Course Team*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Wollstonecraft, M. (1983) *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- World Health Organization. (2008, January 9) 'Iraqi Family Health Survey'. [online] available from http://www.who.int/mediacentre/news/releases/2008/pr02/2008_iraq_family_health_survey [March 5, 2011].
- Yablon, Y. B. (2010) 'Religion as a basis for dialogue in peace education programs'. *Cambridge Journal of Education* 40 (4), 341–351.
- Yahya, S., Bekerman, Z., Sagy, S. and Boag, S. (2012) 'When Education Meets Conflict: Palestinian And Jewish-Israeli Parental Attitudes Towards Peace Promoting Education'. *Journal of Peace Education* 9 (3), 297–320.
- Yardley, L. and Marks, D. F. (2004) *Research Methods For Clinical and Health Psychology*. London: Sage.
- Yildiz, K. (2004) *The Kurds in Iraq: The Past, Present and Future*. London: Pluto Press.
- Yin, R. K. (2003) *Applications of case study research*. (2nd Ed.). California: Sage.

- Yin, R. K. (1994) *Case Study Research: Design and methods*. California: Sage.
- Yousef, O. (2012) *Human Right for Seventh Grade*. Sulaimaniyah: Dler Press.
- Zaidi, S. M. (2013) 'Madrassa Education in Pakistan: Controversies, Challenges and Prospects'. Centre for International and Strategic Analysis SISA Report no. 3.
- Zaman, A. (2006) 'Developing an Islamic Worldview: An essential component of an Islamic Education'. *Lahore Journal of policy Studies* 1 (1).
- Zia, R. (2006) 'Transmission of values in Muslims Countries: Religious Education and moral development in School Curricula'. In *School Knowledge in Comparative and Historical Perspectives: Changing Curricula in Primary and Secondary Education* ed. by Benavot, A. and Braslavsky, C., Comparative education Research Centre, University of Hong Kong: Springer, 119-134.
- Zizek, S. (2008) *Violence*. London: Profile Books.

Appendix A: Timeline of the major incidents in the Iraqi and KRG area

Date	Historical Events
1918	Iraq and Iraqi Kurdistan region come under British rule.
22/05/ 1919	First revolt against British mandate by Şêx Mehmed Barzincî, an influential Kurdish leader.
1920	Under a League of Nations' agreement in the Treaty of Sèvres, Article 64 makes provision for Kurdish rights of self-determination.
1921-1933	Emir Faisal 1 becomes King of Iraq.
1922	Declaration by Şêx Mehmed Barzincî of a 'Kurdish Kingdom' in the Kurdistan region.
1923	Kemal Ataturk founds the Turkish Republic. The Treaty of Sèvres is replaced by the new Treaty of Lausanne, which was unfavourable to the Kurdish cause.
1924	The city of Sulaimanîyah falls to British forces.
1930	Şêx Mehmed Barzincî starts another uprising against British mandate which is suppressed by British forces and he is killed.
1930	Iraq gains entry to League of Nations leading to further Kurdish demands for autonomy. The end of the British mandate in Iraq.
1931	A group of distinguished Kurds appeal to the League of Nations for the establishment of an independent Kurdish government.
1933-1939	Emir Xazi ruled Iraq.
1939-1958	Emir Faisal second ruled Iraq.
1943	Another uprising in the Kurdistan region led by Mullah Mustefa Barzanî.
1945	The Iraqis and British attack the Kurdish area in the Kurdistan region.
1946	The Mehabad Republic based in the city of Mehabad in Iranian Kurdistan is brought to an end forcibly by Iran.
16/08/ 1946	Kurdistan Democratic Party-Iraq is established.

1947	Qazi Muhammad, President of the Mehabad Republic, is executed by Iran.
1951	In exile, Mullah Mustefa Barzanî is elected president of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP).
14/07/ 1958	The Iraqi monarchy falls and the Iraqi constitution approves the rights of the Kurds to be recognized.
1958-1963	Presidency of Abdul Karim Qasim in Iraq.
1960	Conflict re-emerged between Kurds and the Iraqi regime.
1961	Kurds rebel against the Iraqi government under President Abdul Karim Qasim; he proves unable to quell the revolt.
1962	The Iraqi regime imposes an embargo on the Kurdistan region.
1963-1966	Presidency of Abdul Salam Arif in Iraq.
1964	Abdul Salam Arif declares a ceasefire with the Kurds.
1965	Conflict begins between the Iraqi regime and the Kurds and over 2000 Iraqi soldiers are killed in the fighting.
1966-1968	Presidency of Abdurrahman Arif in Iraq.
1968-1979	Presidency of Ahmad Hassan Bakr in Iraq.
11/03/1970	Peace agreement is signed between Iraqi regime and the Kurds regarding autonomy for the Kurdistan region.
1971	Worsening relations between the Kurds and Iraqi regime, leading to Kurdish requests for help from the US.
1974	Under the terms of the peace agreement, the oilfields in Kirkuk come under the control of the Iraqi regime. When the Kurds refuse this condition, the peace agreement is ended.
6/03/1975	The Algiers Accord (brokered by the President of Algeria) is signed between Iraq and Iran and causes problems for the Kurds as Iran is told to stop backing Kurdish uprisings.
1/06/1975	In Damascus, Jalal Talabani, one of the most well-known founder members of the KDP announces the establishment of a new political party, PUK.

1979	Mullah Mustefa's died; his son, Idress Mullah Mustefa Barzanî, takes over the leadership of the KDP.
1979-2003	Presidency of Saddam Hussein in Iraq.
4/09/1980	War breaks out between Iraq and Iran.
1983	Iran helps KDP to control the town of Hajj Umran in northern Iraq. In revenge, the Iraqi regime exile or kill 8, 000 Kurds from the Barzanî tribe.
1983	Fighting between PUK and the Iraqi regime ceases following negotiations.
1985	Iraqi Government increases repression of Kurds, especially PUK supporters. Iraqi regime kills Jalal Talabany brother.
1986	Iran backs KDP and PUK against Iraq.
29/03/1987	Ceasefire between Iran and Iraq. The Iraqi regime begins <i>Enfal</i> Campaign against the Kurds, attempted to destroy the Kurdish liberation movement.
1987	182,000 Kurdish civilians are killed or driven into exile KDP and PUK establish a joint 'Kurdistan Front'.
16/03/1988	Iraqi regime kills 5,000 Kurdish civilians in a poison-gas attack on the town of Halabja.
8/08/1988	War between Iraq and Iran ended.
March 1991	With the expulsion of the Iraqi regime from Kuwait by the Coalition forces, the Kurdish liberation movement and Kurds of the Kurdistan Region revolt against the Iraqi Government. US refuse to become involved and fails to support Kurdish rebels and uprising. Consequently, millions of Kurds migrate and seek refuge at the Iranian and Turkish borders.
April 1991	Coalition forces declare a 'safe haven' for the Kurdistan Region and international aid begins for Kurds. Jalal Talabani and Masoud Barzanî in negotiations with Iraqi regime regarding autonomy for Kurdistan Region.
July 1991	Kurdish peshmergah forces take control of the cities of Erbil and Sulaimaniyah in the Kurdistan region.

19/05/1992	Elections in the Kurdistan Region establish a Kurdistan parliament and government. KDP and PUK are equally balanced in the government.
September 1992	Elections held in the Kurdistan Region for Iraqi National Congress (INC) by Iraqi opposition groups.
1994	Civil war between KDP and PUK forces begins and lasts until 1997.
1994	UN agrees 'oil for food' programme with Iraqi regime.
August 1996	Masoud Barzanî demands help from Saddam Hussein against the PUK. With the help of Iraqi forces, KDP takes Erbil and PUK gain support in Suleîmanî. Meanwhile in the Kurdistan Region these two main political parties lead two rival administrations.
January 1997	PUK declares a new government in Sulaimanîyah.
September 1998	Masoud Barzanî and Jalal Talabani sign Washington Agreement. Kurds continue with two separate governments, led by PUK and KDP, respectively.
October 2002	PUK and KDP share session of the Kurdistan Parliament, working jointly until next election.
22/03/2003	United Nations leads coalition forces against Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq following attacks against <i>Ansar al-Islam</i> based in Khormal, a town in the Kurdistan region.
April 2003	Coalition forces advance into Baghdad. In the following days Kurdish forces and Coalition take control of Kirkuk and Mosul.
2003-ongoing	Presidency of Jalal Talabani in Iraq.
January 2005	Two main Kurdish political parties form an alliance for Iraqi parliament. Jalal Talabani is subsequently elected as Iraqi president.
June 2005	First session of Kurdistan parliament is held and Masoud Barzanî becomes President of the Kurdistan Region.
15/12/2005	Elections are held in Iraq whilst the Kurds also hold elections for Kurdistan Parliament and Council of Cities.
December 2005	Kurds start drilling for oil in the Kurdish region.

September 2006	Masoud Barzanî, President of the Kurdistan Region, replaces the Iraqi flag on government buildings with the Kurdish flag.
June 2009	The most recent KRG constitution was approved by the KNA.
July 2009	25th of July, the Iraqi KRG parliamentary election were held. PDK and PUK made a joint list and they won the election.
June 2009 – December 2011	Period of USA withdrawal from Iraq.
March 2010	On 7 March 2010, Ayad Alawi of the Iraqi national movement won the parliamentary election with 91 seats. The State of Law Coalition, led by Nouri Maliki, came second with 89 seats.
September 2013	In 21/09/2013 Iraqi KRG parliamentary election were held. KDP come first, the Change (Goran) party came second and PUK come third.
April 2014	In the Iraqi parliamentary election, the State of Law Coalition led by Nori Maliki won the majority of seats 92 seats.
11/6/2014	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) took control of Mosul (second big city of Iraq after Baghdad).
24/07/2014	Fuad Massoum elected the new president of Iraq
11/08/2014	Haider Al-Abadi became Prime Minister of Iraq

Appendix B: Glossary

Al Maslaha Almursal: considering public interest

Anfal: literally, justifiable spoils of war. Also: the name of an Iraqi government campaign against the Kurds; a name of a Sura (chapter) in the Quran; and a name given to the military operation led by Iraqi government against Kurds in 1986-1988.

Aqā (pl. āqāwat): chieftain of tribe or tribal section, landlord

Allah: God

Amir al-muminin: commanders of the believers.

Ahl alkitab: people of the book. In the Quran, those who are mentioned as having received the revealed book from God are Jews, Christians...etc.

Arabic schools: schools where the curriculum and the language of instruction is Arabic

Asaysh: security force (Kurdish).

Ashīrat: tribe, tribal 'caste'.

Ashti: peace

Caliph: successor to the Prophet Mohammed, chief of the state.

Baja sari: poll tax

Dar al Harb: enemy, or war territory.

Dar al Islam: Muslim territory.

Diwan: Sunni religious schools in Iraq

Duhok: is a region in Iraqi Kurdistan region government. Their people speak Kurdish dialect bahdinani or Kirmanji.

Emir: mir, ruler of an emirate

Emirate: a semi-independent principality

Erbil (Hawler): is a region in Iraqi Kurdistan region government. It is considered capital of the KRG region. Their people speak Kurdish Sorani dialect.

Fatwa: Formal legal opinion given by a qualified Islamic scholar.

Fitna: Strife.

Faqih: Jurisprudent or consultant, who is an authority on Fiqh.

Fiqh: Religious jurisprudence.

Goran: (means change in English) political party founded in 2009 by some members of the PUK. It formed the primary opposition to the two ruling parties in the KRG.

Hadith: Tradition of the Prophet; documented accounts of the sayings and doings of Prophet Muhammad.

Hawza: Shiia religious seminaries school.

Internally displaced person: An individual who has been forced to leave home but remains within the same country. There are many in the KRG area who have fled from middle and south of Iraq.

Ijtihad: The application of an intellectual effort to make a religious decision on the basis of independent reasoning.

Integrated schools: mixed schools of different ethnic groups

Imam: Leader of an Islamic mosque.

Iraq (Aramaic): Black, muddy land.

Islam: literally "submission" to the will of the God, the followers of the Prophet Mohammed who accepted Islam as their religion.

Islamic Futuhah: Muslim expansion aimed at converting other regions to Islam

Jash: traitor; lit., donkey foal.

Jahilia: days of ignorance, pre Islamic era

Jihad: Literally means "struggle", it is the struggle of the Muslims to reform the self and/or one's community. It also refers to a war waged in defence of Islam, a war which could be offensive and/or defensive.

Jizya: a traditional tax on non-Muslims, to live or to die. They give Jizya on the ground that Muslims are protected them. They do not need to serve military.

Kafir: infidel

Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP): Kurdish party founded in 1946. Led by Mustafa Barzani until his death in Moscow 1979; and thereafter by his son Mas'ud Barzani.

Kurmanj (adj. Kurmanji): northern Kurd, speaker of Kurmanji.

Kirmanji, or Bahidinani: Kurdish dialect, spoken north of the Greater Zab River.

The formal dialect of people in Bahdian. It is also the language of spoken by the Kurds of Turkey, Syria, and some of Kurdish in Iran.

Kurdistan Islamic Union (KIU): Sunni Islamist party formed in 1994 among Iraqi Kurds with close ties to the Muslim Brotherhood. Until mid-2005, it was a member of the Kurdistan Alliance coalition. It has run independently since the December 2005 elections.

Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG): The autonomous regional government controlling the three Kurdish provinces of Dohuk, Erbil, and Sulaimaniyah. Established as a federal region under Iraq's 2005 constitution.

Levaboon: apostasy

Madrasa: Islamic boys' school where the Quran was the focus of the curriculum.

maf: right (Kurdish).

Mesopotamia (Greek): Land between the rivers.

Masjid, Mosque: Islamic site of worship.

Muftis: Islamic legal scholars.

Mukhabarat: Iraqi intelligence service.

Mustashar: local state official.

Nahiyya: sub-district.

Pan-Arabism: Movement that supports freedom for all Arab people with the ultimate goal of a united Arab homeland.

Peshmerga: Kurdish militia; lit., those who face death.

Qadha: district.

Qawmiyya: a form of pan-Arab nationalism based on the premise of a shared Arab national identity.

Quran: Islamic religious text believed to contain the final authoritative word of Allah as revealed the Prophet Muhammad (alternate spelling "Koran").

Quraish: the tribe to which the prophet Muhammed belonged.

Segregated schools: schools that is dedicated to one ethnic group.

Shaykh: religious official or village leader.

Shar (Kurdish): Battle, war, fight

Sharia: Islamic law derived from the Quran.

Sheik: Arabic tribal leader (alternate spelling "shaykh").

Shiites: Sect of Islamic faith that believe that the caliph must be a member of Ali or Muhammad's family. Although the majority of the Iraqi population consist of Shiites, they are the minority in the Islamic world (alternate spelling "Shi'a").

Shirk: Polytheism

Sorani: a dialect of Kurdish spoken south of the Greater Zab. People in Erbil and Sulaimaniyah, Kirkuk. Some people in Iran also speak Bahdinani.

Sunni: Islamic sect that believes that the caliphate should be elected by a popular vote. Although the Sunnis are the minority within Iraq, they are the majority of Muslims throughout the world.

Sulaimaniyah: a region in Iraqi Kurdistan. The people speak Sorani Kurdish dialect.

Turkmen: An ethnic group in IK, the majority of who are Sunni Muslims living in Kirkuk governorate.

Wilayat (Turkish): Ottoman province in Kurdish Parezkah

Wasta: personal contacts and influence used to determine decisions and outcomes.

Yezidis: an ethnic group in Iraqi Kurdistan, who speak the Kurdish language but they are not Muslims. The majority live in the Bahdinan area. They are not considered people of the book (*ahl alkitab*).

Appendix C: Definition of Concepts

Child Centred Approach (CCA): is an approach to education in which education is centred on children and their experiences, rather than being solely driven by curriculum content and learning outcome. This approach stems from the progressive education of Dewey, Rousseau, Piagetetc.. The child centred approach is known by other names such as alternative, liberating education, questioning education participatory, learner centred, democratic, inquiry-based and discovery methods.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA): analysis of the patterns of language use; it enables critical analysis of social practices and the role that discourse plays in maintaining unequal power relations.

Curriculum: all the planned and unplanned educational experiences and pedagogical practices that happen in the education setting.

Curriculum Contents: this refers to all the contents, topics and subject areas that seem important knowledge for students to learn.

Discourse: refers to a set of social practices and associated language that are found in 'commonsense' specific to particular contexts (Fairclough 2003). Or , "the fixation of meaning within a particular domain" (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002: 141).

Discourse practice: text production, distribution and consumption (Fairclough 1989:25).

Genre: this is described as the "use of language associated with a particular social activity" (Fairclough 1993:138)

Interdiscursivity: this is understood to be "the constitution of a text from diverse discourses and genres" (Fairclough 1993:138)

Pedagogy: this refers to how teaching and learning take place: the way teachers teach, interact with students and prepare the learning environment.

The explicit curriculum: this refers to the overt expression of the intention of the school, that is, what is actually taught - the content per se as it is put across. (Watson 1993). It is also called “overt curriculum”, “planned curriculum” and “formal curriculum”.

The implicit curriculum: this refers to what is received through the overall impact of what actually happens in school. It covers attitudes, relationships, behaviour, selection of content, manner of teaching, way of speaking to pupils, and so forth. (Watson 1993). It is also called the “hidden curriculum”, “unintended learning outcomes”, “latent curriculum”, "the unstudied curriculum", "the invisible curriculum", "the unwritten curriculum", "the covert curriculum", "the latent curriculum", "the silent curriculum", "the by-products of schooling" and "what schooling does to people".

The null curriculum: this exists by reason of the fact that it does not exist - it is what is conveyed by omission, avoidance, bypassing, as well as by ridiculing, criticizing, and putting down. (Watson 1993: 18-20)

Text: this may be spoken as well as written language (Fairclough 1995).

Appendix D: Interviews Schedules

Duhok Governorate

05/12/12 1 individual teacher interview 1 teachers focus group interview	06/12/12 1 individual teacher interview 1 teachers focus group interview	07/12/12 1 monitor interview 1 parent interview	08/12/12 1 monitor interview 1 individual teacher interview
10/12/12 1 teacher interview 1 teachers focus group interview	11/12/12 1 monitor interview 1 interview with PAO Duhok Zewa children protection centre branch 1 students focus group interview	15/12/12 1 monitor interview 1 Christian Duhok directorate education 1 Zewa children protection centre	16/12/12 1 teacher interview 1 Yezidis teachers focus group interview
23/12/12 2 individual teacher interviews in Xanke schools	02/01/13 1 supervision interview with monitor director, Khairi	02/01/13 1 supervision, monitor director interview	01/06/13 1 monitors focus group interview 1 teachers focus group interview
10/06/13 1 students focus group interview	03/01/13 1 monitor interview		

Total numbers of interviews made in Duhok: 21

7 interviews with individual teacher in Duhok schools including Arabic schools, Kurdish mixed ethnic schools, Christian schools, schools where all Yezidi students.

5 interviews with teacher focus groups. Gender sensitivity was ensured and ethnic teachers focus groups were included.

3 interviews with monitors.

1 interview with the ME director of monitors.

1 interview with monitor focus group.

1 interview with representative from the Christian curriculum development section.

1 interview with student focus group

1 interview with PAO representative in Duhok.

1 Interview with Zewa children protection centre.

Erbil Governorate

12/12/12 2 monitor interviews 2 individual teachers interviews	13/12/12 1 teachers focus group 1 individual teacher interview	17/12/12 2 ME official interviews (Alquarani) 1 individual teacher interview 1 interview with PAO NGO (Hogr).	22/12/12 1 CDD interview (Eskander) 1 interview with HRE supervisor /trainer (Yousef) 1 interview with HE supervisor and monitor in ME
05/01/13 2 individual teacher interviews 1 teachers focus group interview	06/01/13 1 monitors focus group interview 1 monitor individual interview	07/01/13 1 interview with ME consultant advisor 1 curriculum developer interview	03/06/13 1 interview with supervisor/ trainer of HRE in ME
4/6/13 1 interview with PAO representative 1 interview with curriculum developer			

Total interviews made in Erbil Governorate: 23

6 interviews with individual teachers
 2 interviews with teacher focus groups
 3 interviews with individual monitors
 1 interview with a monitor focus group
 3 interviews with ME consultant advisors
 2 interviews with ME HRE supervisor and trainer
 1 interview with ME HE supervisor
 3 interviews with ME (CDD) curriculum developers
 2 interviews with PAO representatives

Sulaimaniyah Governorate

18/12/12 2 individual teacher interviews 1 teachers focus group interview	19/12/12 2 individual teacher interviews 1 teacher focus group interview 1 interview with CDO representative	20/12/12 2 monitor interviews 1 monitor focus group interview	26/12/12 1 interview with children protection centre representative 2 individual interviews
27/12/12 1 individual monitor interview	09/06/13 1 interview with NPA representative 1 interview with CDO representative		

Total number of interviews made in Sulaimaniyah: 16

6 interviews with individual teachers

2 interviews with teacher focus groups

3 interviews with monitors

1 interview with monitor focus groups

2 interviews with CDO NGO representatives

1 interview with a NPA representative

1 interview with a representative from the children protection centre Sulaimaniyah branch

Appendix E: Preliminary questions used in analyzing the peace values presented in learning materials.

Questions when analysing the curricula

Questions about analyzing and searching for peace values in curriculum contents

What values are explicitly represented in content? Are they conflict or peace oriented.

What themes are devoted to peaceful or violent processes? How the curriculum treat the minorities, how they are represented: ethnicity, race, or age, gender, class)? Do the

contents teach about international understanding? Do the curriculum contents teach about the importance of regional interchange and coexistence within Kurdistan and within Iraq?

Do the curriculum contents demonstrate any cultural tolerance or treat any culture inferior?

Do the curricula relate the life with the environment, I mean do they mention anything about environment? What perception is given to social conflicts and contradictions? How is conflict being defined?

Observation Questions

To double check and verify a teacher, students, curriculum developers, mentors questions.

What methods of teaching and learning are existed currently and how it is suited to discover the social conflict for the learners?

Is the value of co-operation emphasized for maintaining the existing social order or for resolving and eliminating contradictions?

Is communication: teachers-learners, learner-learner, dialogic or anti dialogic part of curriculum and teaching methods? How would I consider the classroom, is it student-centered or teacher-centered and why? Is dialogue a part of the curriculum? Is there are unawareness or they are aware but not practiced? How it is practiced? I observe the standing of teachers, if he is always standing in front of students with little movements may indicate dominations. Teachers ask questions, and how is teacher responding in what tunes, what kind of respond, wrong, correct or correct, there might be better answer. Do the teachers give enough time for students to ask questions? Do Students view the teacher both as a teacher and a co-learner? Do Students view themselves as both learners and

teachers?

Does the school facilitate satisfaction of interaction and reflection needs of learners in the process of learning? Is it easy for the students to talk to the teachers for explanation of things? How is teacher students relations and vice versa based on?

What methods are used to integrate the community at large in the learning and teaching processes? For example, how is the ethnics' minorities are treated?

How does the curriculum itself enhance social consciousness and critical thinking skills? This can be analyzed from the teaching methods?

Do textbooks relate directly to student's lives? How? Are they are aware of the importance of relating the curriculum to students life?

Are students in one way or another are engaged in the process of making decisions about their own education? In which ways? How about their teacher, is their views taken into consideration? How they are aware of curriculum changes? Did they get to know in advance? Do they get any training about the change if they have any questions or clarifications? Do teachers have a teacher's book on how to teach?

Do they know who they decide to change the curriculum? Who are the curriculum developers? How they have been chosen?

Do teachers know the prior knowledge of their students and if so, how? In problem posing education methods teacher trust students' knowledge, they come to class with previous knowledge and they wanted to know, adapt their knowledge in its relationship with the world?

Do Students understand that knowledge is always changing and they must search and research for answers to questions. Can the students have different opinion than the teachers?

Are students aware and understand the systems of injustice present in their immediate surroundings and begin to act on their own to help others or change those systems.

Are students understand the systems of injustice in the world and begin to creatively invent new possible answers? Do students get examples of the current real situation to better elaborate in making the students understand the situations? Do you get percentage of the reset students before final test? Can all students pass the tests?

Appendix F: Analytical themes

HRE textbook

Themes	HRE 5 th year textbook		HRE 7 th year textbook	
	Page No.	comments	Page No.	comments
Learning HR	Page 3	It is written as an objective in the introduction		
Awareness of the International laws	Page 3	It is written as an objective in the introduction		
Awareness of HR violations	Page 3	It is written as an objective in the introduction		
Learning student how to respect	Page 3	It is written as an objective in the introduction		
How to protect other people's rights	Page 3	It is written as an objective in the introduction		
Cooperation of all	Page 3	It is written as an objective in the introduction		
Teaching students the skills	Page 3	It is written as an objective in the introduction		
Making students understand the concepts needed to have future free from violation of rights.	Page 3	It is written as an objective in the introduction		
We hope that students will be away from the methods of memorisation	Page 3	It is written as an objective in the introduction		
Favour the Cooperation, understanding and the dialogue language.	Page 3	It is written as an objective in the introduction		

Practical methods and related it to school atmosphere.	Page 4	It is written as an objective in the introduction		
Respecting the other people`s opinions.	Page 4	It is written as an objective in the introduction		
The human being cannot live isolating every one	Page 6 and 7	It has shown the image of the earth circle map. That meant it is a universal issues.	Page 4	
Equality between people in rights and responsibilities	Page 7	There is an activity showing the differences between human and animal, human and plant.	Page 5 twice Page 6 page 19 page 29 , 30 twice	Mentioned twice equality between men and women. The first article of HR declaration.
Human being cannot live without social relationship	Page 8	Images of student wanted to visit their sick friend, some advices.		
Being loyal to family and nation	Page 12	Whenever the loyalty to the society, family and nation is cooperative, the society will live in better situation.		
The Human being needs	Page 13	The human has many needs, his need to water, food, shelter, and dignity respect between people. He also need independence, freedom.		
The ethnicity racism and power, despite all differences all people are equals in rights.	Page 15	It is written don't be the reason of making differences between people. A map of the world is showed.		
Human has different opinions and thoughts, the people have different religion	Page 18	There are images of 4 places of worships, as an activity for students to write the worship place.		

The Human has rights and responsibilities.	Page 21	There is an activity in the page and for students homework with parents to write the rights and responsibilities. This is of utmost important as the message will be for home too.		
The rights to live, the state has to provide the health care and provide opportunities of work for people.	Page 22	The pictures of Halabja city before and after the destruction. Nobody has the rights to control other people`s rights.	Page 5 page 7 page 21 the same is repeated page 29 twice	The right to live for all people without discrimination It mentioned in detail the right to live again. This right can be violated in situation like abortion, killing, hanging, and in war. it is article 2 of HR declaration.
No physical and psychological violence	Page 27	It is shown two images one is a man beating a child and the other image is two men one point his fingers toward the other one.	Page 18	The same is repeated.
Every one has the right to present a complains when his rights is violated.	Page 29	A story is written as an activities.	Page 30	
The rights to participate in sports and arts activities	Page 33	Two images are presented one is enjoying playing and the other images show a boy crying to play. It is stated that in every school, gardens there should be place for children to play.	Page 34	
The rights to live in a clean environment	Page 35	There are images of two pictures. One is clean and the other one is the smoke of a factory.	Page 25	The same is repeated.

The human has the rights to express his opinions freely	Page 38		Page 11 page 32	The individual rights, the right to express one's opinion.
The rights to work in a limited ages	Page 39	There are two pictures of two boys working. One is showing a miserable boy and it is written that he works therefore he is deprived from rights of learning. The other image is working because he is a poor therefore he is deprived from the right fo learning.		
The right of no exploitation	Page 41	Every one has the right to get wages from the work one do. This work has to be enough for him and his family.	Page 29	HRD article 4
The handicapped people have the same rights as the healthy people.	Page 43			
The rights to learn, to get education	Page 44	Every one has the right to free education and he has to continue until he finished foundation school.	Page 14 Page 34	The same is repeated. The State or government Has to plan to provide coexistent. The aims of the education must be to discipline the personality of human being, to promote understanding and forgiveness, brotherhood among people.
Respect the rights of one another and not violate it.	Page 45			
Human rights derived from natural law and heaven religion			Page 3 Introd uction	This is a strong statement, and this meant that it can fit all society, all people. How about the cultural relativism. It is also stated that nobody can have dignity life without it

The Humanity is basis of justice, peace, and respecting human rights			Page 3 Introd uction	
Violation of human rights in the past			Page 4	It is mentioned that in the past the violation of human rights was normal.
With HR existence, the laws is the factor of reforming the state			Page 5	Law to Liberate people from oppression
Election			Page 5	
The right to marry			Page 5 Page 16 page 32	The same is repeated. Both parties has to agree, the age has to be 15 and more, the registration has to be in the court, the state has to facilitate the marriage.
Rights of possessing property			Page 5 Page 23 page 32	The same is repeated
HR become internationally recognised			Page 6	The state cannot violate citizen's rights any more.
The right to have citizenship			Page 10 Page 32	
The freedom of religion The right not to be tortured			Page 12 page 29	The freedom religion must not be source for violence (It is written the other way round on the book the Arabic translation. There has not to be the religion education as source of violence against the children. Torture is not allowed.

			page 32	
The right of people for self- determination			Page 24	
<p>Nobody has to be captured without any charge. Every one is innocent until it found guilty.</p> <p>every one has to be protected by the law.</p> <p>every one is free to live where he wants within the border of the state.</p> <p>every one has the right to run from persecution an apply asylum.</p> <p>The right to join association.</p> <p>Every on e has the right to participate in the managing state affaire.</p> <p>every one has the right to work.</p> <p>every one has the right to have break in work.</p> <p>Every one has the right to have something that is enough to feed him</p>			<p>Page 30 HRD article 9</p> <p>page 31 HRD article 11</p> <p>page 33</p>	

and his family.				
There is no law that allow person or the state to neglect this rights.				

The researcher looked at the latest school textbooks, both the Arabic and Kurdish version. These were:

Ismail Rahim Suliman, Muhammed Amal Jalaj, Baker Kamal Ahmed and Hawrami Muhammed Othman 2012 Human Rights Education Textbook, for grade Fifth foundation schools. Kurdistan Regional Government, Iraq Ministry of Education, General Directorate of Curriculum and Publication. First Edition. Dler publication Sulymania.

Ameen Hamad Salim Hama and Chola Chinar Ali 2011 Human Rights Education Textbook, for grade seven foundation schools. Kurdistan Regional Government, Iraq Ministry of Education, General Directorate of Curriculum and Publication. Activity is written by Ameen Abdullah Muhammed, Suliman Rahim and Muhammed Amal Jalaj. Scientific revision by Hama Yousef Othman. Almustakbal publication Lebanon.

Hamadameen Wasi Salih and Shareef Omer Ali 2011 The Grade fifth social studies textbooks, History Education textbook section. Translation to Kurdish Kirmanji by Shareef Hassan Muhammed. Kurdistan Regional Government, Iraq Ministry of Education, General Directorate of Curriculum and Publication. First Edition. Dler publication Sulymania.

A committee from universities and Ministry of Education teachers 2011 The Grade Sixth social studies textbooks, History Education textbook section. Scientific revision by Dr. Hussein Saadi Othman. Translation to Kurdish Kirmanji by Ahmed Khalil Salih, Hassan Hassan Mustafa, Muhe Dikhaz Khad and Taha Yassen Taha. Kurdistan Regional Government, Iraq Ministry of Education, General Directorate of Curriculum and Publication. First Edition. Dler publication Sulymania.

Abdul Samad Rafida Abdullah, Othman Shwan, Muhe Adeen Atta Abdul Rhaman Zenal Aras Farik 2012 The Grade Seven social studies textbooks, History Education textbook section . Kurdistan Regional Government, Iraq Ministry of Education, General Directorate of Curriculum and Publication. Seven Edition.

Dr. Pshdary Kader Mohammed, Dr.Mam Baker Abdul Hakim Ahmed, Dr. Khether Mahdi Kader and Taha Miqdad Hussein 2010 The Grade eight social studies textbooks, History Education textbook section . Kurdistan Regional Government, Iraq Ministry of Education, General Directorate of Curriculum and Publication. First Edition.

HE textbooks

Themes/ concepts	5 th year		7 th year		8 th year	
	Page	comment	Page	comments	Page	comments
Hunting animals	Page 49, 50,51		Page 86 87	Hunting animals		
Area experience d attacks certain times. The Abbassi state experience d many external attacks Salhaddin Ayobi was able to include north Sudan, north east Libya, Yemen and much of Kurdistan ..etc They attacked the Muslims from behind	Twice on page 53 Page 71, 72		page 109	because of attacks of king Babel to their areas their state were famous by The history of Kardoniash.	Page 92 Page 133 Page 134 page 138	same info repeated. The Amawia attacked Makah and they destroyed Kabba abd tortured its people. The Makah and Medina been attacked by Amawia. Khalifa Marwan waged attacks to Syria and mad victory over Khalifa and declare the state of Abbassia.
Victory The Muslims made victory	3 times in page 53 64	One side win the other side lose The Musilms				The same information is repeated

<p>The Muslims army was able to defeat the Persian army.</p> <p>Salahaddin made victory over Crusade and Liberated Palestine.</p> <p>The Muslims wins and disbelievers lose.</p> <p>The disbelievers were able to win the war in Ahed</p>		win the Quraish lost	<p>page 95</p> <p>page 106</p>	<p>The Oma win the battles and put Legesh under his control.</p> <p>The Lolebeen were able to make victory over Akadyoon</p>	<p>Page 91</p> <p>Page 92</p> <p>page 104</p> <p>Page 108 twice</p> <p>Page 110</p> <p>Page 117</p> <p>Page 118</p> <p>page 119</p> <p>Page 128</p>	<p>The same info is repeated</p> <p>The Muslim navy was able to defeat the Bizentinian Rome navy. Musilms ed Sasani army. Musilms defeated Sassanian. The Kurds made many victories against the Abbassi. The Abbassi wanted to curb the demonstration made by Kurds but they fail and Kurds defeated the Abbassi army. Tha Hazbanian controlled the east part of Mosul. Salahadin made great victories against the Crusade and made a great Kurdish Islamic state.</p>
<p>Organize their lines for war</p> <p>Prepared for war</p>	Page 53	Prepare for war			<p>Page 91</p> <p>page</p>	<p>The Quraish prepared after Bader battle prepared themselves for war of revenge.</p>

					107 Page 108	the Rome and Muslims collect weapons, ammunition, and loyal to increase people`s motivation for war. The Muslims met, discuss for the war against Persian.
Able to confront the attacks, Military campaigns , attacks. Able to confront the Arabs tribes	Page 53, 54, 61,	The Kurds in the past were able to confront the Akedi military campaigns . Abu Baker was able to confront the Arabic tribes that were defected from Islam.	Page 102	the Kurdish Meedia state was strong and made alliances with Keladani state they attacked the Ashori state and fall it down.		
Able to defeat the state	Page 53					
They controlled, occupied	Page 53, 54				Page 99 Page 107 page 108	Abu Baker was able to returned many areas were controlled by defect movement. Muslims controlled Syria, the Muslims decided to control Quds and liberated it from disbelievers. After Muslims control of some areas and taken it from the invasion

					page 109	of Bizentinian. They wanted to take Iraq from Sassanian,
					page 109	because Iraq was dangerous to the Muslims state.
					page 110 twice, different places .	Muslims controlled Madain capital of Sassanian. In Omer time all Kurdish areas were opened. Muslims were able to control Mandali and
					page 110, occupied term is used three times.	promised their people that they are free if they pay taxes. They occupied Khanakeen.
					Page 111 three times	The Occupation of Egypt. The Alrawaia Kurdish emirate was able to control and expand in
					Page 120	Azerbejan region. The prince Hassan managed to control the city of Tabrez. The Amir Abu Haija controlled Azerbaijan.
					page 120	The king Adel was able to keep the control of many areas.
					page 128	The Hajaj was able to occupy Turkey.
					Page 134	Abo Muslim

					<p>page 141</p> <p>page 146</p> <p>page 146</p>	Alkhorsani was able to control khorsan and expel the responsible of Amawia state. Baghdad occupied by Bowaheen. The Saljoki occupied Iraq.
Invasion Wanted to invade, invaded	Page 54		<p>Page 113</p> <p>Page 122</p> <p>page 122</p> <p>page 142</p> <p>page 146</p>	<p>The Akhmenian fought the Mydyoon and invaded their kingdom. And Kurdistan become under their control. The Kambez second come after Korsh great and kept controlling the places invaded by Korsh and he also made military campaigns against Egypt and invaded it. Dara first was able to re control the Babylon region. Then he has curbed the revolutions of Medya and Elyoon and killed their leaders. The Hoksos invaded Delta. Egypt invaded by Lybian then by Ashorian, then Akhmenian, then the Greece came and invaded it. It was under the</p>	<p>Page 110, 111 page 148</p>	Invaded it from Sassanian. Iraq invaded by Magol.

				hand of Roman until Muslims came and invaded it.		
Make alliance to wage war	Page 55		Page 95	The war continued between two families Oma and Lgesh because of possessing earth and watering channel.	Page 91	Same info repeated
Muslims made alliance with Quraish and Quraish with Kuzah			Page 113, 121 the same information were repeated.	The Mydyoon made alliance of friendship with Babylon to fall down the Ashori state as it was the enemy of both. They were able to end it.	94	Same info repeated
			page 124	The Akhmenian invaded Greece.		
			page 132	The Sassanian after many battles with Ashkan they defeated them and invaded their capital.		
			Page 132	The Sassanian sent army and invaded many cities in Syria and when they arrived Antakia they confronted the Roman, at the end they made a deal between them, the Sassanian were impose able to their condition to the Roman Empire.		
Type of weapons used in the war	Elephants page 61,				Elephant page 75	The same information is repeated

<p>Built villages, houses.</p> <p>Built cities of Basra and Kufa in Iraq and Alkustas in Egypt.</p> <p>In Moawia time many building, hospitals, mosques were reconstructed</p> <p>Built Baghdad and built Wisdom house like a library.</p> <p>The Abbassyon attached importance in building many states such as Baghdad and Samra.</p>	<p>Page 56, 54, 73,</p> <p>66,</p> <p>Page 67</p> <p>Page 70</p> <p>71</p>	<p>Peace value</p> <p>The Kashyoon were famous in building</p> <p>Abu Jafer Almansor built Baghdad</p> <p>the time of Haron Alrasheed.</p>	<p>page 103</p> <p>Nebo ksnaser was interested in building.</p>		<p>Page 124</p> <p>Page 135</p> <p>Page 143</p>	<p>The Amir Bad attached importance on building, science and learning.</p> <p>Abdul Malik built Alaksa Mosque.</p> <p>The same info repeated. Abu Jafer built Baghdad.</p>
<p>Submitted wide areas to his control, expanded the border of the</p>	<p>Page 56, 68</p>		<p>page 97</p>	<p>The King Ornemo of Or was able to expand all areas to his control.</p>	<p>Page 96</p>	<p>The Khulafa has expanded the border of Islamic state.</p>

state. To control the sea Islands. The state of Islam was expanded in the time Amaween. Expanded his border to include many areas.	page 67 page 69 73		page 103 page 105 page 107 page 108 page 109 page 127 Page 132 page 142	The state of Babylon expanded until the Syria, Lebanon,etc. The Lolebeen were able to expand their territories to regions of Zahaw and Shahrazor. the Kotyoon the first groups lived in Kurdistan they managed to expand and submit many areas to their rule. The Metanyoon expanded their control to the region of Kirkuk. The Kashyoon were able to control Babylon regions and end the sate of Babylon. The Farthi tribes were able to control region of Bartho and killed the Saljoki king, but one of his brother were killed later. Then he controlled other areas near south of Kazwin sea. Then they controlled west of Iran, and all Kurdistan. The Sassanian were able to expand their state due to wars and campaigns that they made.	page 99 twice page 102 page 121 page 122 page 123 Page 127 Page 128	The Muslims state border expanded widely at the cost of Bizentinian and sassanian state. the Muslims started military campaigns of expanding territories. Expanded the state of Islam. The Emirat Alshadadia expanded their Emirate to include cities and regions. The Emirate Hasnawia manage to submit many areas and tribes to his Emirate. The state of Dostakia has submitted many cities of Armenia regions. The Prince Bad was able to include many cities to his rule. The Ayobi state expanded their control to Egypt. Then expanded to Syria, south Yemen and big part of Africa. Adel the son of Salahaden expanded his control to all places.
--	--	--	--	---	---	--

			<p>page 143</p> <p>page 143</p>	<p>In Egypt a strong family come to power and expanded their territories. They attacked groups of Nawba. However the conflict between the kings family themselves didn't let it to grow. Also the Kings were dependent in that to strong army to invade places. Hoksos invaded Egypt. The era of Sulalat the Egyptians were able to return back all the areas taken from them and expanded their regions to include Syria, Palestine, Sudan, Lebia. Amnhawt was able to expand his regions after he attacked the Syria and arrive the River of Furat and invaded the other territories in the Islands.</p>		
Organised the life, rights, and citizens duties. Managing people`s affaire.	<p>Page 59</p> <p>page 63</p>	Peace values			<p>Page 123</p>	The prince of Hasnawia was looking to get rights for the oppressed people.
Punish the criminals and transgress	Page 59	The law of Hamorabi				

ors						
Reasons for Waging wars Trivial reasons	Page 60	It is stated the Arabs before Islam were waging war for trivial reasons	page 98	Because of the conflicts between the Aseen and Larsa the Amaween went to South of Mesapotamia.	Page 77 77 PAGE 90, 99	When they rebuilt the wall of Kabba the tribe had conflict, every one wanted to get the honour and put the black rock. The war were occurring and continuing for simple things.
Battle of Bader			page 124	The Akhmenian and Greek wars or the Persian Greek wars.	Page 91	The Muslims wanted to stop a trade campaigns of Quraish. The Quaraish knew about it, they wanted to fight.
Battle of Ahed			page 124	many battles waged between the Greece and Akhmenian and among the famous was the battle of Sahel almarathon. They ended with victories for the Greece.	page 92	The Quraish wanted to revenge from Muslims because of their defeat in Bader.
Collect what left			Page 125	The battle of Gogmela between the Akhmenian and Askender Almakdoni, the Akhmenian were defeated.	page 102 Page 102 page 103 Page 105	The Muslims lost because they run before the war end to collect what left, and collect moneys. one of Islam state revenue was to what is left in wars.
			Page 129	Kurdistan become under the control of Askender.n The battle of Haran between the Ashkanian and Roman and the Ashkanian won the battle. Then the Attacks of Roman	page 106 page 106 Page	The battle of Fugar. Battles of liberation in Osman Khalifa time. Khalifa Ali was participated in all the battles that prophet has participated except the battle

				<p>continued against the Ashkan. They liberated Hathar. He has tricked the Ashkanian and patrolled the area of Tessfon pretend that he is coming to make peace convention then people came out from the castles and he killed many of them.</p> <p>The last battle between the Ashkan and Romanian was Nesebeen and it ended with peace convention.</p> <p>The wars and battle continued and nobody won at the end.</p> <p>Battles occurred between the Roman and Sassanian and Sassanian won these battles.</p> <p>Shapor was the king of Sassanian for 70 years.</p> <p>The Battles of Jalwala, Nahawand between Muslims and Sassanian, and Muslims won these battles and Sassanian state fall down.</p> <p>the conflict in regions to expand their rule.</p> <p>The Egyptians were in continuous</p>	<p>106</p> <p>Page 107</p> <p>page 108</p> <p>PAGE 110</p> <p>page 110</p> <p>page 117</p> <p>Page 128</p> <p>page 133</p> <p>Page 134</p> <p>page 142</p> <p>page 144</p>	<p>of Tabook. He left the Islam flag in most battles. the battle of Saffen between the army of Ali and the Army of Moawia.</p> <p>The battles of Islamic opening. The will of the prophet to take away foreigners from Muslims state. They encourage people to defect from Islam, to be opposition to islam, they control the trade pathways to Iraq, Egypt.</p> <p>Battle of Yarmok between Muslims and Rome.</p> <p>Muslims wanted to liberate Iraq from the invasion of Sassanian because Iraq was considered dangerous to Islam state.</p> <p>Battle occurred between Muslims and Sassanian.</p> <p>Battle in Basra between Muslims and Sassanian.</p> <p>The Kurds are Khawarej but they were not among the fighters of Mawaia army against Ali army.</p> <p>The battle of Heteen between</p>
--	--	--	--	---	--	--

			<p>page 132</p> <p>page 136</p>	<p>conflict with Hoksos to get rid of their rule.</p>		<p>Slahadin and Crusade. Battle of Altef. The Hajaj was ordered to fight Turks because they objected to pay taxes, and oppressed the Muslims. The battle of zab the battle between Amawia and Abbassia, the Abbassia win the battle. Battles waged between Khalfa Mostaeen and Moiz.</p>
War costing the life of many people, the looting of material	Page 60		<p>page 121</p> <p>Page 126</p>	<p>The Akhmenian after they invaded the kingdom of Medyan they looted all fortunes and transfer it to their place. After Askender death his properties were divided between them.</p>	<p>Page 90</p> <p>page 92</p> <p>Page 108</p> <p>Page 111</p>	<p>Killed 70 men and captures 70 from disbelievers.</p> <p>the disbelievers killed 70 men. The martyr of Abu Obeide Aljarah. Martyr of Numan Almazni.</p>
Destruction of cities	Page 61				Page 75	<p>Habasha wanted to invade Makah and destroy the Kabba.</p>
People are threatens because of	Converting to different religio					

	n page 62					
Being tortured, persecuted because of	Converting to different religion Page 62	Being different				
Forbidden to practice religion rituals	Page 62					
Ways of resolving conflict, preventing conflict, war	Avoidance, Exodus page 62	The prophet emigrated to Medina to avoid war with Quraish.			Page 77 Arbitration page 82 page 99 diplomatic way page 107	The tribes in Makah accepted the arbitration of a person to solve their matter. The Muslims emigrated to Habasha to avoid being killed and persecuted. Abu Baker has used diplomatic way to resolve conflict when he wanted to end the defected movement. He sent representatives to all areas of Arab peninsula to return to Islam society, and their exit from Islam line meant their exit from religion of Islam and meant they don't recognise the Islam rule but the defected refused therefore, Abu Baker to prepare the army to

					<p>Page 109</p> <p>Page 110</p> <p>page 111</p> <p>Page 111</p> <p>page 111</p> <p>page 118</p> <p>page 119</p> <p>page 144</p> <p>page 145</p>	<p> fights. Abo Obeida sent message to people of Quds demanded them to believe in God and his messenger, or pay the taxes or enter in war. When he arrived the surrounding of Quds, he sent the message again and blocked and patrolled for three days, they made them obliged to sign convention. The Muslims negotiated with Sassanian to either enter Islam, or pay taxes or enter a war. But the disbelievers refused. The Sassanian in Basra decided to pay the taxes to avoid war and be in their religion. Muslims patrolled the cities for three days then occupied it. The Muslims occupied the Babylon castle. The Muslims were able to control Eskandaria. The Kurds withdrawn because they </p>
--	--	--	--	--	---	--

						<p>couldn't resist. When the Hazbanian knew about the army of Abbassi to come to rescue Mosul withdrawn. The battle between Khalifa Mostaeen and Moiz and the Blockade over Baghdad, the Moistaeen couldn't bear and wanted to solve the problem peacefully. The disputes and conflicts among the Abbassi leaders led to the appearances of Bowaiheen.</p>
Brotherhood principles	Page 63				Page 88	One of main job of prophet is building brotherhood between Mohajreen and Ansar.
Making promises	Page 63					
Forbidding animosity of one another	Page 63					
<p>Break the convention,</p> <p>Break the contract</p> <p>Make convention</p>	<p>Jews page 63</p> <p>page 64</p>	<p>The Jews break the contract</p> <p>The Quraish break the contract</p>	<p>Page 112</p> <p>page 129</p>	The Mydyoon made convention of friendship and peace with Ashoryoon. Then wars waged between them led to the killing of king Fawrtees.	Page 145	The Bowaheen agreed to pay Abbassia money to recognize them, after that they break that agreement and wanted to invade Iraq, they tested

				The Ashkanian tried to make peace convention with Roman, but the Ashkanian refused they attacked Romaninan and obliged them to accept the convention.		the power of Abbassia but they fail.
Declare war	Page 64	It is state that the prophet had to declare war to spread the religion of Islam.	Page 109	There were continuous war, conflict between the Metanyoon and the Ashoryoon until the Ashoryoon were able to defeat them and end their rule.		
Declare war to get power	Page 67	They declared war with Quraish. In Khalifa Ali time internal problem increases this has led Ali to declare war.	page 111	There were bloodshed war waged between the Ahoryoon and Mydyoon until the Asoryoon were able to impose taxes to Ashoryoon.		
Declare war to spread the Islam religion			page 124	Ahshwirsh Akhmenian waged war against Greece despite he made victory in Athens and set fire but he was defeated with Greece in the battle Blatia.	page 128	It is stated that the God has called for war against Quraish according to the verses " To those against whom war is made, permission Is given (to fight)because They are wronged and verily, God is most powerful for their aid" Al haj verse No 39. The Interpreter of Quran agreed that this is the first verses descent to allow for Jihad. It is stated this verse is descended after Muslims being tortured, persecuted.
			page 128	The wars Ashkania Alsajjokia.	page 143	
			Page 129	The Ashkania		

			page 132	Romanian war. The war and conflicts continued between the Ashkanian and Romanian. The Sassanian war with Hon tribes and ended with peace convention.		The war continued with Crusade in time King Adel son of Salahadin. The Abbassi has done everything they can to get power, they killed every one suspected they dependent on the recommendation of Khorsani. Later he become among the suspected and killed him.
Battles Battle of Heteen Conflict Battle of Bader	Page 64 72	Certain battles occurred between Quraish and Musilms, such as Bader, Ahed, Kandek.	Page 128	The Salokia continued their attempts to return back the areas invaded by The Farthi. After 3 battles they were able to defeat the Farthi and control the capital.	Page 99 page 77 Page 90 Page 103 page 103 twice page 104 page 109 page 110 page	Many battle occurred between Muslims in Abu Baker time and defect movement. conflict occurred between tribes in Makah Between Muslims and Quraish. Many internal conflicts were occurred in Osman time. Liberated battles. Liberated some islands such as Cyprus and Rods. Battle occurred for three days between Muslims and Sassanian. Battle of Nahawendos. The Emirat

					125	Alanazia influenced by internal and external conflicts.
Reconciliation contract Negotiation		The prophet made a reconciliation contract (Alhudaibi a contract) to end the war.	Page 128	The Farthi wanted to make reconciliation contract with Saloki but the Saloki refused.	Page 92 page 110 page 119 page 128 page 138	Reconciliation of Alhudaibia. Reconciliation contract between Muslims and Kurds. when the Hazbanian knew about the big army of Abbassi they withdraw and made negotiation with Abbassi ruler in Mosul. The aims of this negotiation was that the Hazbanian be able to prepare themselves for war to transfer their money and children and to make the Abbassi army busy. They fought the Abbassi army. The king Kamel son of Salahadin negotiated with Crusade to end the fighting. Omer Bn Abdulaziz negotiated with Khawarej.
End fighting Fight ended		The fighting ended according Alhudaibi a contract	page 98	The Elayoon and Sopareen from Kurdistan	PAGE 90, 92,93 page	The Muslims defeated Quraish and killed 70 of them and capture 70 men. The Muslims

The Emirats are fallen				attacked the Or and ended their rule.	107	were able to defeat Rome.
					page 121	The Rawia Emirate is fallen under the influence of Slajoki.
			page 101	The Larsa family ended the family Ayesen. Then Hamorabi was able to end the Larsa family and rule them.	page 122	The Emirats Shadadia is fallen under the hand of Magol.
			page 102	The Ashor state ended under the hand of alliances of Almedi and Alkldani.	Page 131	The Emirate Hasnawia ended.
			page 103	the Ashori state fallen.	Page 134	The Amawia state fallen.
				After Nebolsnaser death, his successors could not managed to protect the sate, the Korsh Akemenian attacked Babylon and invaded and the rule of Keldanian ended.	page 134	Abdul Malik was able to end the movement of Zubair Bn Awam.
				After the fallen of Keldanian, many were interested in Mesapotamia, many waged attacks until the Muslims were able to control Iraq and then Kurdistan.	page 138	The Hajaj was ordered to fight the Turks.
				The Kutyoan were able to fall down the state of Akadi empire.	page 140	The Amawi state ended.
				then they invaded Summer and Aked regions.		The aims of Abbassi state was to end Amawi state.
			page 107	That's how their state is expanded.	Page 148	The Abbassi state fallen under the hand of Magol.
			Page 110	At the end they		

			<p>page 110</p> <p>page 131</p>	<p>lost control on Sumer regions. The Elayoon were able after their attacks on their state and invade their capital were able to fall down the Kardoniash. They looted their belongings and transfer it to their capital Sosa. After defeating the Kotyoon to Sumer region, the Kotyoon were obliged to withdraw. They expanded their areas to include the sea of wan. The reasons of end of Ashkan state was the continuous wars between the Ashkan and Roman of the rule of Ashkan and also the revolution of the regions of Ashkan.</p>		
The Musilms opens	Page 64				<p>Page 94</p> <p>page 99</p> <p>page 100</p> <p>page 102</p> <p>page 103 3 time</p>	<p>Muslims open Makah</p> <p>The Muslims opened many areas.</p> <p>The opening are reached the top in Omer time.</p> <p>The Islam state expanded because of Islamic openings.</p> <p>The Muslims were able to open these areas and</p>

					<p>Page 107</p> <p>Page 108</p> <p>page 109 twice</p> <p>page 110</p> <p>Page 110</p> <p>Page 113</p> <p>Page 132 twice</p> <p>Page 133</p>	<p>arrive Amorcia . The Khalifa Osman allowed Abdullah to open Africa. Then arrived Morocco state and open Tarablus. The Quds opening. Opening of Iraq. The Kurds during the Islam opening.</p> <p>Muslims opened Nineveh, Kirkuk, and other areas. Open of the opening called after the Sassanian being defeated. Muslims opening. Mawia opening. Opening of Qastantina.</p>
Managing state affaire	Page 65, 67	The Khulafa managing Musilms affaire			Page 102	To better manage state affaire the state of Islam after the big expansion it divided into administration units to patrol the revenues and resolve problems of the society.
Elect a person to be leader	Page 65	The Musilms elected Abu Baker to be Musilms leader			Page 97	Elected Abu Baker to become leader of Musilms

Discussion , consultation to elect	Page 65	The Musilms discussed and consulted among one another			Page 98	Abu Baker consulted the Muslims in to end them
To rule with justice. Justice Justice (Khalifa Ali) was famous of his justices. Was known with justice	Page 65, 66 Page 66 page 67 Page 69	Abu Baker declare that he will rule with justices. Khalifa Omer nick named the justice man Khalifa Omer Bn Abdul Aziz	Page 98	The law of Justice of Hamorabi is mentioned.	Page 101 Page 102 Page 107	It is stated that Omer distributed all the money they got it fairly to soldiers. It didn't mentioned that he had distributed to poor or....etc. Omer was famous with justices, resolving problems. He was listening to everyday people`s problems. Justice of Omer.
not to discriminate among Musilms	Page 65	Abu Baker declared he will not discriminate between Musilms				
Spread the religion of Islam The Islamic military was busy to spread the	Page 66 page 67	It is stated that the religion of Islam spread especially after the battles of Jalwala and			Page 106	The will of the prophet is to spread the message of Islam to every where.

religion of Islam continuously until it arrived far place in time of Khalifa Osman		Nahawand . This meant that Islam is spread through fighting.				
Being martyred	Page 66 Khalifa Omer.				Page 81 Page 103 Page 194, 105, 106 Page 106 Page 108 Page 111 Page 133	Many Muslims were martyred because of tortured and bad treatment. The Khalifa Osman being martyred. The martyr of Khalifa Osman. The martyr of Khalifa Ali. Abo Obeide being martyred. Martyr of Numan Almazni. Martyr of Iman Hussain Bn Ali.
Spent lots of money for the sake of Islam	Page 67	Osman Khalifa			Page 103	The same information was repeated.
Making weapons	Page 67	In Khalifa Osman time Muslim built navy to confront his enemy in the sea and control the sea Islands.			Page 104	The same information were repeated.

Problem in holding power, to get power	Page 67	In Khalifa Ali time internal problems increases to get power	The brother of Kambiz revolted against Kambiz and invaded Persian region and Kambiz had to return from Egypt quickly and he has been assassinated in his way. Then Dara has ended the rule of his brother.			
War costs	Page 67	War costs great damages to many people, Khalifa Ali martyred as a consequen			Page 104 Page 106	In Osman time some army were defected from Islam army and the outcome was Osman being Martyred. Khalifa Ali martyred.

		ces.				
Equality with people	Page 69	Khalifa Omer Bn Abdulaziz				
State fall down, state ended. The Abbassi state ended under the hand of Magol. The Ayobi state fallen under the Mamalik. The Dostakia state fallen under the Saljoki Turks	Page 69, 73 Page 72 page 74	The state of Amaween ended				
Knowledge, schools	Page 70					
Crusade	Page 71 72	The crusade invaded Musilms areas. Crusade being defined as people comes from Europe and waged attacks to Musilms they are written cross as			Page 127	Salahadin Alayobi made a unit Islamic front against the Crusade who invaded the Islamic world from Europe.

		Christian symbol.				
Liberate	Page 71, 72	Salahaddin Alayobi liberated wide area of Palestinian state, Quds from the crusade control.	The Lolybeen were able to liberate themselves after the death of Nera mseen .		<p>page 99</p> <p>Page 107</p> <p>Page 107 108 three time</p> <p>Page 128 page 134</p>	<p>The Muslims liberated most areas of Hajas, Iraq, Syria. The will of the prophet to take away foreigners Abu Baker wanted to take away Bizentinian army from Sham, he prepared an army to liberate Syria and Iraq. Liberate Quds. Liberated House of Quds. Alashath tried to liberate Iraq but he failed.</p>
Reasons of state weakness, state failure.	Page 72	The state of Abbassi weaken because of not giving importance to managing state affaire and people`s life	<p>page 102</p> <p>Page 108</p> <p>page 136</p>	<p>because of the expansion of Ashori state and spread their military all over places their government weakened. And after the death of their rule, the succeeding rulers couldn't manage the sate. The reason that the Kotyoon lost control on Summer region. The far places that they invaded it. Little military help from soldiers and the weapons</p>	<p>page 139</p>	<p>The reasons of falling of Amawi state, monopolize the power, the tribe conflicts, the inheritance rule, the opposition movement of Shia, the Military and cruelty of their politics, they were far from the implementing the religion of Islam.</p>

				sent to them. The reasons of Sassanian state fail The internal conflict among the family of Sassanian to get power, the conflict among the different religions, the big taxes. The wars of the state with many states.		
Inheritance rule Kurdish emirates	Page 74				Page 131	Mawia Amawi prince made the Khilafa by inheritance.
Orphans					Page 76	It is stated that the way the prophet being brought up give us lessons to look after orphans. Therefore, the prophet felt of the sufferance's that poor people experiences.
Trust					Page 77	The prophet was trustful, treating people good
Prophet and messenger to all mankind					Page 79	It is stated prophet Mohammed to all mankind
Methods of violence, Tortured, persecuted, boycott, through stones.					Page 81	Muslims were persecuted, tortured, expelled, End the social relationship between Quraish and Banu Hashem, Selling, buying, marriage....etc

Helping and harbouring the persecuted					Page 82	The Habasha king harboured the Muslims persecuted by disbelievers.
Attempts to kill the prophet Tribe of Baker killed 20 people from Quzaha tribe			page 125 Page 130	The king Arthshshta escaped from assassination attempt done by his brother but the attempt was failed. He has made another attempt he led military army but he failed again and was killed. After the killing of Farats Iran many problems and chaos wide spread Iran.	Page 86 Page 131 Page 142 page 142	The Quraish attempted to kill the prophet in Makah. After the killing of Imam Ali. The Amawia killed the Imam Ebrahim in the prison. 120 thousands withdrawn but no one harbour them they went to different places until they kill them in the village of Bu seer. The killed Marwan Bn Mohammed and it was the end of Amawia state. The Abbassi era end with the killing of Motawakl.
Mosques					Page 87	The prophet built the mosque for praying, other worships and also it was a centre for managing political and military affaire, meeting and consultation about important things.
Unite between Muslims with no			Page 95	Or Sulala (family) was able to unite all Sumaria cities and put all under	Page 88 twice	The prophet wanted to unite the Muslims.

discrimination			page 96 page 98	his rule. The Akadyon were able to unite themselves and expand their territories to Cyprus. Hamorabi was able to establish a united state.		
Protecting any one who want to live with Musilms					Page 89	The articles of the constitution of prophet made in Madinah.
Cooperation between Musilms and non Musilms and united their effort to protect the state and both side bear the cost of war when it is occurred.					Page 89	The articles of the constitution of prophet made in Madinah.
Protect the non Muslims if they experience any oppression					Page 89	The articles of the constitution of prophet made in Madinah.
Representing other ethnicity			Page 94 and on Page	Mentioned the ancient groups lived in Kurdistan, Sumarion, Akadyon, Asshoryon but it didn't mentioned Yezidis. If they were part of Kurds it should	Page 89 The Jews page 136	It is represented as they were trouble makers, they wanted to make differences between Musilms. They have different methods to achieve disunity between

			105 Page 113 Page 123	have mentioned. It mentioned again the past groups lived in Kurdistan, such as Loleebeen, Kotyoon, Medyoon, Metanyoon, Kashyoon. During the Mydyoon empire, there were the religion of Zaradesht and it was wide spread. And it was the official religion in the Mydia state. Leader of Medya Faawrtes made the religion of Zaradesht the official religion for the state.	page 138	Musilms. In Abdul Malik time they counted the numbers of Christian and Jews to pay the taxes(compensati on they are not Muslims. In Omer Bn Abdulaziz time he has annulled paying taxes from the new converted to Islam from Christian, Jews and Zaradesht.
Muslims were on right direction and their enemy were on wrong direction.					Page91	
Forbid killing The prophet prepared for war secretly to avoid killing many people					Page 92 page 94	There are some month in Islam the killing is forbidden.
Negotiation						

The religion of Islam is for all					Page 93	The religion of Islam is for all no matter what nationality they are and what colour they have. According to Quran
Forgive					page 94	The prophet forgave Quraish people despite the crimes they committed.
Do not blackmail other people money					Page 95	The will of the prophet.
Women rights			Page 90 Page 143	It has given as one of the example that when the ancient people wrote they were drawing to express the meaning for example when they wanted to write women they draw woman. After the death of Ahmess, it appeared chaos in the region on how for a woman to rule the country after Ahmess, She had to marry Amnhawt but the real rule was in the hand of woman.	Page 95	The will of prophet to give women rights and treat them well.
Being humble					Page 97	The speech of Abu Baker when he has chosen to be leader he state" oh people I have been chosen to be your leader and I'm not better

						<p>than you all, if I have done good help me and if I have done bad correct me, the truth is clean and the lies is bad and the weak among you is strong with me until I get his rights and the strong of you weak with me until I get rights from him, If a nation left the Jihad God will led them down obey me to obey Allah and his messenger and if I transgress Allah and messenger order, transgress my orders".</p>
Jihad					<p>page 97</p> <p>page 101</p>	<p>Abu Baker states that if a nation left Jihad God will let that nation down. The army in Islamic state was making Jihad to raise the Islam flag and spread the Islam religion.</p>
Discrimination and racism					<p>Page 98 twice</p> <p>Page 140</p>	<p>The prophet attempted to end the discrimination and tribalism among Muslims. it is also stated that Islam end the racism and conflict. The aims of Abbassi state was</p>

						to end the racism between Arabs and non Arab Muslims.
Ends the revolt					Page 98	Abu Baker wanted to end the revolt and protect the Islam state.
Take away foreigners from Islamic state					Page 106	The Muslims in Abu Baker time wanted to realise the will of the prophet.
Controlled without resistance					Page 111	Muslims Controlled Egypt without resistance.
Concepts open movement , controlled the openers , Khawarej movements					Page 113 Page 117	it says that they Kurds participated in the Khawarej movement(what is movements here, it is not explained). When looking at it is just like battle. Because it says the Kurds participated and made victories.
Concepts Quiet, State, Emirate, friendship, friend			Page 108	There were between the Metanyoon and Egypt friendship.	Page 113 Page 123	The Kurds accepted Islam with tranquillity. It is stated the Dostakia state what is the definition of state here.
The consequences of Islam opening					Page 114	Many Kurds gradually left Christianity, Zaradashtia, and Judaism. Kurds had their own public rule. Kurdistan was developed

						economically.
Demonstration			page 97	one of Sumary king demonstrated against the rule of Koteen, and this demonstration included all cities of Sumaria.	Page 118 twice Page 118 twice	<p>The Kurds of Shahrazor participated in Alawi violent demonstration against the Amawiin. They also participated in the Alawi movement in the areas of Azerbaijan. The demonstration of Kurds in the suburbs of Mosul.</p> <p>The demonstration continued . they couldn't resist the power of Abbassi state therefore, they withdraw.</p>
The Kurds movement					Page 118 page 119	The main movement related to Kurds, Kurds has made many demonstration because of the betrayal and oppression experienced against them. The Shaddad Kurdish movement.
Revolution, revolt			page 103	When the Jews made their	Page 118	The Kurds revolted against the Abbassi in the area. They resisted the betrayal and oppression

			<p>Page 108</p> <p>page 124</p> <p>page 124</p> <p>page 131</p> <p>Page 132</p> <p>Page 143</p>	<p>revolution, the King neboksnasered the kingdom of Yahoza in Palestine now twice. And in the second time they occupied Orsheleem and guided 40 thousands of Jews captured. The Sumaryoon waged a victorious revolution until they end their rule in Summer and Aked region. The Greece cities revolted against the invasion of Akhmenian. After the death of Dara Ahshawish came and there were revolution in Arkhemenian regions and he has curbed the Babylon and Egypt revolution. He was very severe with the revolutionists. The revolution of Fars Region against the king of Ashkan and he won and establish the Sassani state. The Shapor king of Sassanian was able to end all the revolutions. the revolution of Amnhawat fourth to convert people to worship Amon</p>	<p>Page 119</p> <p>Page 134</p>	<p>experienced by rulers in the area. The people of Zakho revolted against the Abbassi rule. The revolution of Abdul Rahman Bn Alashath.</p>
--	--	--	---	--	---------------------------------	--

				the Sun. The reasons for this revolution was to reduce the religious men of Amon, the Egyptian thought that their weakness is because the worship one God, also the influence of his mother.		
Curbed the revolution, demonstration, movement			Page 122	Dara first Akhmenian King curbed the revolutions of Akhmenian and especially the revolutions of Medya, Elyoon, Babylon.	Page 118 page 119 page 119	The Abbassi state wanted to curb the violent demonstration. The Abbassi army curbed the revolution of Zakho. The Hazbanian demonstration against the Abaassi rule.
Oppression, authoritative Intrude					Page 122 page 138 page 144 Page 144 page 145 page	The prince of Emirate Hasnawia himself helping the poor from the oppression and gave them money and clothes. Omer Bn Abdulaziz was the first to look for people`s complains. The concept authoritative mentioned. It is stated the Turkish authoritative. The Turks intruded to internal affaire of the state and remove the Khulafa, they

					146	threaten them to kil, and to write their resignation. The Bowaihi authoritative era. The Saljoki authoritative era.
Stabilisati on, Security, peace, Learning, forgivable , Constituti on			Page 88 page 123 page 124	The ancient human being was able to learn agriculture, invent plate, worship, sewing...etc. In Kurdistan they found many traces of ancient human being. The leader of Medya(Kurdistan) made a constitution, established security department to protect the region. Arthshta first of Akhmenian succeeded Ahshwirsh and he mad peaceful relation with Iranian and Greece.	Page 124 page 128 page 132 page 136 twice page 138 page 144	The Dostakia state was able to provide the stabilisation and spread the security. Salahadin attached importance on learning. He was forgivable. In Mawia time there were stability and security in area that were occupied by him. In Abdul Malik time the countries experienced stability, security and prosperity. Omer Bn Abdulaziz was peaceful in politics he was negotiated with Khawarej. The situation of Turks were deteriorated, internal conflict, destabilisation,
Dispute who to take power					Page 128, 129 page	The sons and nephews of Slahadin disputed over who to take power. It was one of the reasons of the fall of the

					131	Ayobi state. The Amawia since long time they were desiring to take power.
Fight, attack			<p>Page 96</p> <p>page 100</p> <p>page 105</p> <p>page 107</p> <p>Page 113</p> <p>Page 121</p> <p>page 125</p>	<p>The King Neramseen fought the Lolobeen king and Koteen. The Koteen attacked the Akadyoon and end their rule. The Ashoreen had skills and experiences in fighting, invasion, establishing state and invention. The Lolebeen fought back fiercely with violence against the military attack waged by Neramseen Alakadi and they defeated them. Kurdistan called Gutiam in Assyrian is the place of fighter. Kirkuk(Arabeka) was a capital of it. The Mydyoon attacked Ashoor and they returned back city of Arabaka. The great Korsh made big military campaigns such as fallen down the Medyan state, and fallen down the state of Lydia, occupied Afganistan. After waging battles</p>		

			<p>page 128 twice</p> <p>page 134</p>	<p>and military campaigns he was able to defeat the king of Keldanian and invade Babylon.</p> <p>The Athshshta attacked Kurdistan and Greece but they confronted hard resistance.</p> <p>The farthi attacked the Saloki but they were defeated in the battle and captured many of them. The Saka tribes attacked the Farthi State and after many battles they controlled some part of Iran and they killed the king Farahats. However, the Farthi state got all their areas back in the time of Metredats.</p> <p>The Sassanian attacked Castle Amed Dyar Baker and after fierce fight and blockade was able to control it.</p> <p>They attacked Arabs Gulf and especially Bahrain. The last battles of Sassaninian was with Bezentinian, many battles occurred between them.</p>		
Resistant			Page 105	The resistant of Lolebeen against		

			page 141	the Akadyoon. Reasons for building Ahrams is to protect their border and expand their rule. It is also a prove of nation united.		
Developm ent			Page 134	The Sassanian made good services to people in all sectors, Socially They fought corruption, economically built roads and buildings until they were defeated by Muslims.		

